Volume 34, Number 4 ~ Winter 2010

The Western Journal of Black Studies

Articles

African American Men and the Prison Industrial Complex — Earl Smith, Angela Hattery — 387

Islam, Rentier States and the Quest for Democracy in Africa — Seth Asumah — 399

Progressive Paths to Masculinity for Young Black and Latino Men in an Urban Alternatives-to-Incarceration Program — Megha Ramaswamy — 412

African American Students' Experiences with Special Education in Milwaukee Public Schools — Festus Obiakor, Floyd D. Beachum, Mateba K. Harris — 425

Passing On: The Old Head/Younger Dancer Mentoring Relationship in the Cultural Sphere of Rhythm Tap — Donna-Marie Peters — 438

African American Scholarly Contributions to Non-Black Ethnic Studies: A Bibliographic Essay — Robert Fikes — 447

A Gender Comparison of Resiliency Among Older African American Katrina Survivors — Erma Lawson — 457

Book Reviews

T. Thomas Fortune, the Afro-American Agitator: A Collection of Writings, 1880–1928 — Jack Carson, Jr. — 471

The Cultural Politics of Slam Poetry: Race, Identity, and the Performance of Popular Verse in America — Matthew Oware — 473

Visit *The Western Journal of Black Studies*
Website:
http://www.wsu.edu/~wjbs

THE WESTERN JOURNAL OF BLACK STUDIES

ISSN 0197-4327

MANAGING EDITOR:
E. Lincoln James
Washington State University

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT:
Henry H. Averhart, Jr
Washington State University

JOURNAL COORDINATOR:
Camille Wall
Washington State University

EDITORIAL BOARD:
Rudolph Alexander, Jr.
Ohio State University
Lisa Aubrey
Arizona State University
Sandra Barnes
Vanderbilt University
Juan Battle
City University of New York
Elias K. Bongmba
Rice University
Harold O. Braithwaithe, Jr.
Morehouse College
Daphne Brooks
Princeton University
Rufus Burrow
Christian Theological Seminary
James E. Conyers
Indiana State University
James L. Conyers, Jr.
University of Houston
Hermon George, Jr.
University of Northern Colorado
Darlene Grant
University of Texas-Austin
J. Eugene Grigsby, III
University of California, Los Angeles
Perry Hall
University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
Jennifer F. Hamer
University of Illinois-Urbana Champagne
Robert L. Harris
Cornell University
William M. Harris
Augusta State University
Melissa Harris-Lacewell
Princeton University
Alton Hornsby, Jr.
Morehouse College
Clenora Hudson-Weems
University of Missouri-Columbia
Maulana Karenga
California State University- Long Beach
Trica Danielle Keaton
University of Minnesota-Twin Cities
Erma Lawson
University of North Texas
Margaret C. Lee
University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
Dwayne Mack
Berea College
Wilson J. Moses
Pennsylvania State University
Peter Ogom Nwosu
California State University – Northridge
Paul Pitre
Washington State University
Cornelius B. Pratt
Temple University
Paula Groves Price
Washington State University
Kevin Everod Quashie
Smith College
Joseph W. Scott
University of Washington
Harry Shaw
University of Florida
Earl Smith
Colgate University
Dorothy Smith-Ruiz
University of North Carolina-Charlotte
Robert Staples
University of California-San Francisco
Michael Tidwell
Bloomsburg University
Joao H. Costa Vargas
University of Texas-Austin
Hanes Walton, Jr.
The University of Michigan
Deborah Gray White
Rutgers University
Vernon J. Williams, Jr.
Indiana University
Sarah S. Willie
Swarthmore College
George Yancy
Duquesne University

FOUNDING EDITOR:
Talmadge Anderson

©2010 by the Board of Regents, Washington State University,
Pullman, Washington 99164. All Rights Reserved.

African American Men and the Prison Industrial Complex

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
JAN - 6 2011
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

EARL SMITH — WAKEFOREST UNIVERSITY
ANGELA J. HATTERY — WAKEFOREST UNIVERSITY

Abstract

Many criminologists, journalists, and social commentators (Alexander, 2010; Lapido, 2001; Schlosser, 1998) have paid attention to this on-going problem of the mass incarceration of African American men that began in 1980 and persists to the present day. Yet, their analysis often remains at the individual level; the impact of incarceration on individual men (Davis, 1998). This paper fills an important gap by examining the linkages between the mass incarceration of African American men by the Prison Industrial Complex (PIC) and the consequent bleeding of capital—specifically financial, human, social and political—from the men themselves, their families, and the African American community at large. Second, we will consider the impact of the PIC on the reentry process. Returning thousands of men annually to a community like our own to a small subset of neighborhoods and public housing developments puts severe stress and strain on the agencies already providing services to these under-resourced communities. Thus, the removal of men depletes community capital but their return does as well.

Introduction

African American men—poor and not so poor—have had a tumultuous relationship with the United States Criminal Justice System. This relationship is longstanding (Brunson 2008). In the summer of 2009, prominent Harvard professor Henry Louis "Skip" Gates, Jr. experienced being handcuffed and arrested as he attempted to enter his home in Cambridge, Massachusetts. A white female passerby thought his behavior was suspicious, called 911, and the incident brought a national spotlight to this issue of arresting African American men on the basis of a hunch. This practice is what is routinely referred to as racial profiling or in the vernacular of the times—driving while black.

Many criminologists, journalists, and social commentators (Alexander, 2010; Lapido, 2001; Schlosser, 1998) have paid attention to this on-going problem of the mass incarceration of African American men that began in 1980 and persists to the present day. Scholars, journalists and social commentators have done a good job recognizing that mass incarceration devastates the lives of African American men. Yet, their analysis often remains at the individual level; the impact of incarceration on individual men (Davis, 1998). What receives less attention is the role that mass incarceration has on the families of these men; the women who make weekly bus trips often 8 hours each way to visit their male partners, the women—mothers, aunts and grandmothers—who raise the children their incarcerated husbands, boyfriends, brothers and sons—usually as single parents. And, even less attention is paid to the impact that mass incarceration has on the African American community that is depleted of resources and

Earl Smith, PhD *holds the Rubin Distinguished Professorship in American Ethnic Studies at Wake Forest University. He is also Professor of Sociology. Smith specializes in the areas of urban sociology, race and ethnic relations, sociology of sport and social stratification. He is the author of dozens of articles, book chapters and books, most recently* Social Capital and Prisoner Reentry: The Long Road to Reintegration *(Lexington Books, 2010) with Angela Hattery.*

Angela J. Hattery *is Professor of Sociology at Wake Forest University. She completed her PhD at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. She joined the faculty of Wake Forest in 1998. Her research focuses on social stratification, gender, family, and race. She is the author of numerous articles, book chapters, and books, most recently* Prisoner Reentry and Social Capital: The long road to reintegration *(Lexington Books, 2010) with Earl Smith.*

capital when vast numbers of its members are incarcerated. What we find in our research is that even fewer criminologists, journalists or social commentators are paying enough attention to the fact that the majority of these same men will eventually be released from prison and the vast majority will return to the same communities (Travis, 2005) putting additional strain on already scarce resources as they attempt to garner the assistance they need to successfully reenter the free world (Hattery and Smith, 2010). This paper fills the gap and contributes to the literature that demonstrates the direct relationship between mass incarceration, the impact on families and communities and the struggles these men have as they attempt to re-enter the "free world."

This paper will examine the linkages between the mass incarceration of African American men by the Prison Industrial Complex (PIC) and the consequent bleeding of capital--specifically financial, human, social and political--from the men themselves, their families, and the African American community at large. Specifically, we will expand our previous argument that the PIC exploits African American men by extracting their labor for less than fair market wages (Hattery and Smith 2008), and argue here that the PIC extracts the capital of African American families and communities through the practice of mass incarceration and mass removal of African American men. Thus, the actual experience of a given inmate—whether his individual labor is extracted by the PIC or not—becomes irrelevant; it is simply his incarceration and removal from his family and community alone that amounts to the depletion of capital from African American families and communities. Second, we will consider the impact of the PIC on the reentry process. When a thousand men return annually to a community like our own and the majority return to a small subset of neighborhoods and public housing developments, and when these men face tremendous barriers to finding employment and stable housing the stress and strain this places on the agencies already providing services is extraordinary. Thus, the removal of men depletes community capital but their return does as well. These complex and interlocking issues are the focus of this paper.

The Prison Industrial Complex

The Prison Industrial Complex is a term that allows for reliable identification of a complex interlocking web of institutions that extends outward beyond any one jail or prison into the larger political economy and loops back to the thousands of jails and prisons that house men and women for crimes for which they have been convicted—guilty or not, a topic we take up in a related essay. Of question for many scholars of the criminal justice system is the function that these periods of incarceration—often extending more than a decade—serve. Based on the significant number of individuals incarcerated for decades for nothing more than untreated addictions, Haney and Zimbardo (1998) refer to this as "warehousing." We argue elsewhere (Hattery and Smith, 2008) that under the rubric of the PIC incarceration has little to do with rehabilitation or deterrence and much to do with the detention, removal and exploitation of labor.

The PIC has a similar growth history as the Military Industrial Complex (MIC) that we learned about in 1961 when then outgoing President of the United States—Dwight D. Eisenhower—warned the American public about the growing interconnected relationships among American big business, government and worldwide military expansion. A key portion of the speech reads:

> Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society. In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. (Eisenhower, 1961).

This potential for disaster that then President Eisenhower spoke of is now a reality. As Eisenhower warned, once the U.S. made a commitment to the military build-up, the requirement to mass produce weapons led to the need to engage in war or other military conflicts in order to use the weapons, and as a result, the U.S. now commits significantly more of its financial and personnel resources to that single enterprise than all others combined.

Similarly, once the U.S. made a commitment to mass incarceration the prison-building boom began and suddenly, as with the military, the number of prison beds demanding to be filled fueled the ever increasing numbers of men (and to a lesser degree women) who would be incarcerated with the purpose of filling these beds. Just as the U.S. government needs a reason to go to war, such as the now infamous weapons of mass destruction believed to be held by then Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, the notorious "war on drugs" led to the development of stiff sentencing guidelines laid out in the Rockefeller Drug Laws. These laws required long

mandatory minimum sentences for simply possessing a small amount of substances such as crack, cocaine, heroin, and even marijuana.

Incarceration has become a complex system deeply embedded in the post-industrial U.S. political economy such that, on any given day, confines to county lock-ups, jails, federal prisons, and SuperMax prisons number more than 2.3 million American citizens. This figure does not include the newly established "Illegal Immigrant Prisons" being built and staffed all over the U.S. from the Mexico/Texas border to states as far north as Rhode Island. Indeed, incarceration has become a multi-billion dollar industry—Corrections Corporations of America, a private prison company, reported revenues of $1.2 billion dollars in 2005 and this increases to over $2 billion in 2008 (http://www.correctionscorp.com/)—that relies on incarcerating more than 2 million citizens on any given day in the United States. Schlosser (1998) put it this way:

> Three decades after the war on crime began, the United States has developed a prison-industrial complex—a set of bureaucratic, political, and economic interests that encourage increased spending on imprisonment, regardless of the actual need. The prison-industrial complex is not a conspiracy, guiding the nation's criminal-justice policy behind closed doors. It is a confluence of special interests that has given prison construction in the United States a seemingly unstoppable momentum. It is composed of politicians, both liberal and conservative, who have used the fear of crime to gain votes; impoverished rural areas where prisons have become a cornerstone of economic development; private companies that regard the roughly $35 billion spent each year on corrections not as a burden on American taxpayers but as a lucrative market; and government officials whose fiefdoms have expanded along with the inmate population.

Thus, as we argued previously (Hattery and Smith 2008; Smith and Hattery 2006), the PIC has grown like a monster with an ever present appetite that must constantly be fed. As we noted in our earlier work, in addition to the sheer need to incarcerate individuals (Hattery and Smith 2008), the PIC effectively decimates African American families and communities by removing, along with individuals, capital—financial, human, social and political. Thus, the impact of incarceration goes far beyond the individual who is incarcerated and can be understood as a modern day extension of the plantation slave economy (Oshinsky, 1997) and Jim Crow segregation (Alexander, 2010) that similarly extracted resources from the African American community which produced multi-generational disadvantages that are still being felt today (Hattery and Smith 2007; Oliver and Shapiro 2006)

Modern Era of Incarceration

Scholars who study discrimination (Bonilla-Silva 2003) chart the ways in which its expression has changed across time and in direct response to changing social norms. Though there are still pockets in the United States where Whites routinely refer to African Americans as "niggers", for the most part, this practice has come to be viewed as not only inappropriate but as a sign of ignorance. In response to these changing social norms, a new language of race and racism has developed (Bonilla-Silva 2003).

Similarly, it is no longer an acceptable practice, as it once was (see especially Oshinsky, 1997, who provides a nice overview of the history of the convict leasing system), to simply lock up African American men without cause or for such petty behavior as vagrancy. Simultaneously, as noted above, the growing PIC has an appetite that needs to be fed. One solution that solves multiple concerns in the capitalist economy of the United States is to, in the words of Erik Wright, cordon off the unexploitable—those with no skills that are relevant to capitalism—in ghettos and prisons (Wright, 1997).

> In the case of labor power, a person can cease to have economic value in capitalism if it cannot be deployed productively. This is the essential condition of people in the 'underclass.' They are oppressed because they are denied access to various kinds of productive resources, above all the necessary means to acquire the skills needed to make their labor power saleable. As a result they are not consistently exploited. Understood this way, the underclass consists of human beings who are largely expendable *from the point of view of the logic of capitalism*. Like Native Americans who became a landless underclass in the nineteenth century, repression rather than incorporation is the central mode of social control directed toward them. Capitalism does not need the labor power of unemployed inner city youth. The material interests of the wealthy and privileged segments of American society would be better served if these

> people simply disappeared. However, unlike in the nineteenth century, the moral and political forces are such that direct genocide is no longer a viable strategy. The alternative, then, is to build prisons and cordon off the zones of cities in which the underclass lives (p. 153).

In an era of what Bonilla-Silva (2003) calls "color blind racism" it would be inappropriate to simply incarcerate African American men for ostensibly no reason. As we will argue, the institution of the Rockefeller Drug Laws provided just the right mechanism to accomplish what Wright suggests is a goal of capitalism without seeming overtly racist. As we and others (Chang and Thompkins, 2002) argue, this process also removes competition from tight labor markets and artificially reduces the unemployment rate (inmates are not counted among the unemployed). So there are multiple reasons why those captaining the largest capitalist economy in the world would benefit from the over incarceration of African American men, especially those who are low-income, poor, and otherwise not contributing to the capitalist enterprise. See also (Wacquant, 2001).

When we examine the implementation of the Rockefeller Drug Laws it becomes clear that they supply a mechanism for (1) incarcerating more than a million African American men thus removing them from family and community, while (2) keeping the beds in the burgeoning prison system filled, and (3) providing exploitable labor for the industries associated with the PIC (see especially, Hattery and Smith, 2008). We extend this argument here by noting that another outcome of the over-incarceration of African American men is the removal of capital from African American families and communities. But first, we explore the drug laws a bit more in depth.

The Role of the War on Drugs in the PIC

Among the most severe in the international community the purpose of these laws—which began being implemented under then Governor Nelson Rockefeller—in the early 1980s—was to deter citizens from using or selling drugs and to punish and isolate from society those who were not deterred. Yet, an examination of these laws leaves many scholars wondering if there are other intended consequences as well. In sum: The "Rockefeller Drug Laws" imposed the following sentence: the penalty for selling two ounces (approximately 56 grams) or more of heroin, morphine, "raw or prepared opium," cocaine, or marijuana or *possessing* four ounces (approximately 113 grams) or more of the same substances, was made the same as that for second-degree murder: a minimum of 15 years to life in prison (Peters, 2009).

Furthermore, the Rockefeller Drug Laws set in to motion two other key policies: (1) the Three Strikes You're Out or habitual felon laws, and (2) a distinction between sentences for possession (or sale) of crack cocaine versus powder cocaine. The habitual felon law allows for judges to impose life sentences on individuals convicted of a third felony. And, because the Rockefeller Drug Laws re-classified drug possession from misdemeanor status to felony status, this results in what Haney and Zimbardo (1998) refer to as the warehousing of drug addicts. Secondly, and key to the debate, is the formula that was created to distinguish crack and power cocaine. Based on the notion that crack is more potent than power cocaine, possession of merely 5 grams of crack cocaine is a felony whereas an individual must possess nearly 500 grams of power cocaine for the same charge and subsequent sentence to be invoked. As scholars of this debate point out time and time again, it's not serendipitous that the majority of individuals charged with and convicted of possessing powder cocaine is White, whereas the majority of individuals charged with and convicted of possession of crack cocaine are African American. Many argue that this distinction alone is at the core of the racialized gap we see in incarceration rates, despite the fact that drug usage rates do not vary significantly by race. See table 1 and table 2 below.

Table 1 Reported Drug Use by High School Students, by Race/Ethnicity, 2007

Drug Use	White	Black	Hispanic	Other
Lifetime marijuana	38.0%	39.6%	38.9%	32.9%
Current marijuana	19.9	21.5	18.5	17.2
Lifetime cocaine	7.4	1.8	10.9	6.5
Current cocaine	3.0	1.1	5.3	4.0
Lifetime inhalant	14.4	8.5	14.1	12.6
Lifetime heroin	1.7	1.8	3.7	2.9
Lifetime methamphetamine	4.5	1.9	5.7	5.2
Lifetime Ecstasy	5.6	3.7	7.4	5.8
Lifetime illegal steriod	4.1	2.2	4.6	3.1
Marijuana before age 13	7.2	9.5	9.8	9.9

Reported Drug Use by High School Students, by Race/Ethnicity, 2007

Table 2. DEA Arrests, by Race/Ethnicity and Type of Drug, FY 2004

Drug Category	White	Black	Indian	Asian	Hispanic
Powdered cocaine	4,648	2,273	26	49	3,943
Crack cocaine	695	3,161	22	25	300
Marijuana	4,573	1,017	56	122	2,882
Methampheamine	5,367	141	60	191	2,197
Opiates	1,398	833	5	18	1,311
Other or non-drug	1,726	500	5	272	497

Both charts come from the Office of Drug Policy Control
http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/DrugFact/minorities/minorities_ff.html

DEA Arrests, by Race/Ethnicity and Type of Drug, FY 2004

Additionally, a report by the U.S. Department of Justice on sentencing in state courts found that 33% of convicted White defendants received a prison sentence whereas 51% of African American defendants received prison sentences (Durose and Langan, 2001). Furthermore, in a recent review of forty recent and methodologically sophisticated studies investigating the link between race and sentence severity, many of the studies, especially at the federal level, found evidence of direct discrimination against minorities that resulted in significantly more severe sentences for African Americans than their White counterparts (Spohn, 2000). Scholars who study race and incarceration note that the Rockefeller Drug Laws as well as discrimination in sentencing have resulted in the racial transformation of prisons (Wacquant, 2001, p. 96).

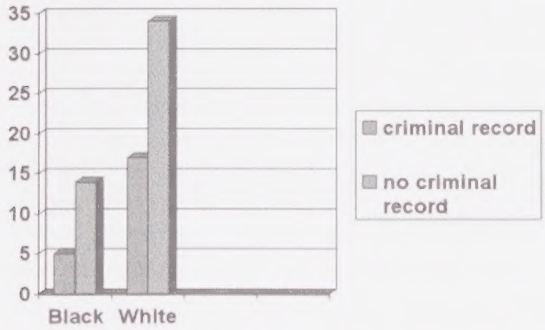
Specifically, research suggests that the increase in US prison numbers has not been the result of a sudden crime boom but of changes in US criminal justice and sentencing practices. To be sure, one of leading statisticians with the US Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics Allen Beck, has given estimates

that approximately *one ninth* of the increase in prison population can be explained by higher offence rates, yet fully *half of this increase came because of a greater likelihood of a prison sentence upon arrest and another third to the increase in the length of sentences* (Mauer, 2001, p. 34).

The Over-Incarceration of African American Men: The Numbers

Elsner, in his book entitled *Gates of Injustice* (2006) notes that African American men are far more likely than any other race/ethnic group of men in America to be arrested, convicted and spend time in prison during their lifetime (Elsner, 2006). This fact alone calls for an analysis of the situation, looking at the outcomes from such practices that remove African America men from their families, children and communities.

Table 3. The effect of criminal record for white and black job applicants (p< .01)



Devah Pager, 2003. "The Mark of a Criminal Record: *American Journal of Sociology* 108:937–975.

The Effect of Criminal Record for White and Black Job Applicants

The situation becomes even clearer when we note that at the beginning of the New Millennium the proportion of Americans in jails and prisons has more than tripled since approximately 1975. (For an interesting analysis of this growth phenomena of jails and prisons see, especially, Arizona State University Professor of Criminology John Eason's work *Big House on the Prairie: Prison Proliferation and The Rise of The Rural Ghetto*. Forthcoming with University of Chicago Press).

What this means is that African American men between the ages of 15 and 35, a group that represents less than 5 percent of the overall U.S. population, account for upwards of 50% of the prison inmates (Pettit and Western 2004). Pettit and Western put it thus:

> More strikingly than patterns of military enlistment, marriage or college graduation, prison time differentiates the young adulthood of black men from the life course of white males. Imprisonment is now a common life event for an entire demographic group (p.165).

Since 1989 and for the first time in national history, African Americans make up a majority of those entering prison each year. Indeed, in four short decades, the ethnic composition of the U.S. inmate population has reversed, turning over from 70 percent White at mid-century to nearly 70 percent African American and Latino today, although ethnic patterns of criminal activity have not fundamentally changed during that period. As a result of this racial transformation, today, 50% of all incarcerated Americans are *African American men*. In total, more than 1.2 million African American men are currently incarcerated, and their lifetime rate of incarceration is significantly greater than any other demographic group. In fact, one out of three African American men (compared to one in ten White men) will serve time in prison during his lifetime.

The incarceration of approximately a *million* African American men is more important now than ever before. Why? Because the incarceration of a million African American men has decimated African American families and entire communities as they are systematically bled of capital.

Barriers to Reentry: A brief overview

Those exiting prison and hoping to successfully reenter the "free world" face enormous barriers and these barriers are exacerbated for the half a million or so Americans who reenter the "free world" each year with a drug felony conviction (Hattery and Smith, 2010). Thus we provide a brief overview of the barriers to reentry that lead to stresses on family and community capital when a member is "repatriated" from prison.

A felony record creates an enormous barrier to employment (Pager, 2003, 2007). This is especially true for African American men. Specifically, Pager's (2003, 2007) experiment documented that when male "testers" applied for employment, White men were more likely, overall, to be offered a "call back" than African American men; White men without a felony were the most

likely to be offered a "call back;" but most disturbing, *White men with a felony were more likely to be offered a "call back" than African American men without a felony*. Only 3% of African American men posing as "testers with a felony record" were offered a call back. This study illustrates the severity of the impact on employment opportunities that African American men with felony convictions face (Pager, 2003, 2007).

Social Welfare Bans

In addition to the barriers to employment that re-entry felons face, as part of the 1996 TANF reform and the changing drug laws of the 1980s and 1990s, a series of bans were imposed on re-entry felons that prevent them from accessing many of the social programs that provide basic level support. Bans on social welfare programs vary from state to state. Our intent here is to paint a broad picture of the bans and we encourage the interested reader to visit the website of the Legal Action Center (www.lac.org) and obtain their report for a more detailed understanding of the bans as they are imposed across the various states.

	Male				Female			
Age	Total[3]	White[5]	Black[b]	Hispanic	Total[a]	White[b]	Black[b]	Hispanic
Total	2,090,800	755,500	814,700	410,900	208,300	96,600	67,600	32,100
18-19	86,600	27,100	36,500	17,700	5,500	2,300	1,500	1,300
20-24	353,300	108,200	145,600	80,100	31,000	14,200	9,000	6,100
25-29	354,100	106,200	143,400	83,900	32,000	14,500	10,000	5,700
30-34	328,600	109,500	125,600	73,800	35,500	16,400	11,600	5,700
35-39	303,100	113,700	118,200	55,000	39,000	18,300	13,200	5,200
40-44	273,600	114,200	103,300	41,900	32,700	15,000	11,600	3,900
45-49	184,200	77,500	71,200	27,800	18,200	8,400	6,500	2,200
50-54	96,800	43,300	35,500	13,900	8,000	4,200	2,300	1,000
55-59	50,500	26,600	15,000	7,600	3,300	1,800	700	600
60-64	21,700	13,200	5,200	3,300	1,200	700	400	100
65 or older	17,700	10,900	4,500	2,100	800	600	100	100

Note: Detailed categories exclude persons who reported two or more races. See Appendix table 10 for percent distributions by age and race.
[a]Includes American Indians, Alaska Natives, Asians, Native Hawaiians, other Pacific Islanders, and persons identirying two or more races.
[b]Excludes persons of Hispanic or Latino origin.

Prison Inmates at Midyear, 2007

In addition to the discrimination they face with potential employers, they also face bans on certain types of jobs and employment certificates. Mukamal's (2004) research notes that:

> Employers in most states can deny jobs to people who were arrested but *never convicted* of any crime....Employers in a growing number of professions are barred by state licensing agencies from hiring people with a wide range of criminal convictions, even convictions which are unrelated to the job or license sought (p.10).

To make matters worse, Mukamal notes that some of the licensing bans apply to trades that inmates are taught in prison as part of rehabilitation programs, for example barbering.

Cash Assistance and Food Stamps and Public Housing

Most states (38) impose a ban on the receipt of cash assistance (TANF) and food stamps to individuals with a felony drug conviction. Nearly half of these states (17) impose a *lifetime* ban on cash assistance and food stamps. The remaining 21 allow for the reinstatement of eligibility for these social welfare programs if certain conditions, such as successful treatment or a waiting period, have been met (Mukamal, 2004).

The federal government also allows public housing authorities to use evidence of a criminal record in determining eligibility for public housing. The federal government imposes lifetime bans on eligibility for public housing on two groups: (1) those convicted of the production of methamphetamine and (2) those required to be registered for their lifetime on the state's sex offender registry. In addition, Mukamal's (2004) research of housing authority guidelines found that the majority of housing authorities *do consider* a person's criminal record when determining their eligibility for public housing. The most common bans were for felony drug convictions and violent offenses. Furthermore, her research noted that more than half, 27, of housing authorities "make decisions about eligibility for public housing based on *arrests that never led to a conviction*" (Mukamal, 2004, p. 10). Because children are most likely to live with their mothers, children of mothers with a drug felony will be ineligible to live in public housing.

We underscore here the impact of these particular bans. Given the fact that individuals with a felony record face serious obstacles to employment (Mukamal, 2004; Pager, 2003, 2007) we ask the question, upon release from prison, struggling to find a job, facing a ban on cash assistance and food stamps, how will the re-entry felon eat? Furthermore, as a result of specific changes in the drug laws that re-classified possession of 5 grams of crack-cocaine as a felony, the bans apply to those whose conviction is for a *possession*; and thus impacts millions of individuals whose real crime is an addiction. In contrast, *no similar ban is imposed on individuals with felony convictions that are not drug related*. The bans do not extend, for example, to those convicted of felony rape, murder, or child molestation. We wonder then about both the integrity of these bans but also their purpose especially in light of the fact that African Americans are disproportionately likely to be convicted of a drug felony (which carries the ban) whereas white men are disproportionately likely to be convicted of child molesting (which does not carry the ban). Lastly, the ban on public housing poses a serious threat to the safe housing of more than one million African American children whose mothers are or have been incarcerated.

Incarceration as a Tool For Depleting Family and Community Capital

Neo-capitalists, as Lin (2000) refers to them, argue that building on Marx's concept of capital, we can conceptualize other types of resources as capital that can be leveraged, exploited, lost and so forth. For the purposes of this discussion we focus on four critical types of capital that can be accumulated by individuals, families, and communities and that fundamentally shape life chances: financial capital, human capital, social capital and political capital.

Financial Capital—Is Simply Money.

When a million African American men are incarcerated they cannot be employed. Not only do they fail to accumulate wealth, but so do their families. And, when levels of incarceration are high in a particular community—like so many phenomena, incarceration is not spread evenly over the entire African American community, rather incarceration rates also very significantly by social class with the lion's share of the burden being extracted from low-income African American communities—it means the community has less access to resources and wealth, including home and small business ownership. And, because homeownership is the primary source of wealth for most Americans, including African Americans, if incarceration rates continue to soar the race gap in homeownership will only get worse with the current financial crisis, and the scam perpetuated against vulnerable African Americans via the subprime mortgage market, both of which result in higher rates of foreclosure for African American homeowners.

Human Capital—refers to the skills that people develop that they can then sell in the market place (Becker 1993). When we lock up one-third of all African American men between the ages of 14 and 35 there are devastating losses in human capital. Clearly the individual himself may lose skills, which will lessen his probability for post-incarceration employment, but once again, in a community where as many as 50% of the men have been incarcerated the only tangible skills will be "hustling" and the community will be devoid of the type of human capital that is sought after by employers. Thus, factories, service agencies, etc., will not choose to move into these communities because there won't be a pool of employees available. This results in a lack of employment options for *everyone* who lives in these communities—not just the individuals who have been incarcerated. Ironically, as Wright (1997) noted, ghettos and prisons can be places to cordon off the unexploitable—those with no human capital—but ghettos can also be transformed to human capital wastelands because of high rates of incarceration. Thus,

incarceration can be both a "solution" and a cause of the problems Wright articulates.

Social Capital – Specific to our argument here, Lin (2000) argues:

> Social capital may be defined as investment and use of embedded resources in social relations for expected returns. Social capital is conceptualized as (1) quantity and/or quality of resources that an actor (be it an individual or group or community) can access or use through (2) its location in a social network (p.786).

In other words, there are two key aspects to social capital: social networks and the resources that are embedded within these social networks that an actor can access. Like human capital, in communities in which 50% of the men are or have been incarcerated, the only social capital networks involve hustling –as clearly articulated by men we interviewed for our study on reentry (Hattery & Smith, 2010) . Simultaneously, there are no social capital networks available for finding housing, employment, routes to education or credentialing. Again, as with human capital, this lack of social capital networks affects *everyone* who lives in the community, not just ex-convicts. Thus, young men and women growing up in these communities will not have access to the networks that can lead them to higher education, gainful employment, and greater social mobility (Hatery and Smith, 2010).

Finally, Political Capital.

As most readers are well aware, felons are automatically politically disenfranchised (Wagner 2004; Thompson 2009). They can't vote. In many states they can be re-enfranchised but the process can be cumbersome and few ex-convicts are aware of the requirements. As with all other forms of capital, in communities where 50% of men cannot vote, the *entire community* loses its right to choose its representatives. Ironically, African Americans fought for centuries for this right, beginning with the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution and ending with the 1965 Voting Rights Act, only to see their hard-won right to vote taken away from them by the U.S. criminal justice system.

Discussion

Whereas most research on the PIC, including our own (Hattery and Smith 2008) has focused on the mechanism by which individual inmates are exploited through a system of "employment" that pays wages well below market value—either by the prison itself or by the dozens of multi-national corporations including McDonalds, IBM, Starbucks, Victoria's Secret and Microsoft that contract with prisons to provide inmate labor—in this paper we have argued that the PIC and its ever growing need to fill cells contributes to the depletion of capital in primarily low-income African American families and communities. Secondly, other scholars and we have made the argument that the PIC is like a modern day slave plantation in its strategy for exploiting labor and thus allowing the ruling classes to make enormous profits, we argue that the PIC is similar to the plantation slave economy in other respects as well.

Specifically, just as the plantation slave economy prevented and prohibited the accumulation of capital among slaves, a process that impacted all of those enslaved as well as many generations of their descendents, the PIC depletes the capital resources of African American families and communities in a similar fashion: by preventing or at least reducing the likelihood that any capital resources—financial, human, social or political—will accumulate. Just as the plantation slave economy allowed benefits to accrue even to those who did not actively participate by owning slaves, and just as accumulated disadvantages were passed on to many who were not themselves enslaved, the PIC provides a mechanism by which capital accrues to some families and communities while suppressing its accumulation in others. Individuals living in privileged communities benefit regardless of whether they individually participate in the PIC and those in disadvantaged communities suffer from depleted capital regardless of whether they or their family members are personally incarcerated.

The Impact of Reentry in the Depletion of Capital

Having recently completed research on the process of reentry for those exiting prison with a felony conviction (Hattery and Smith, 2010), we offer an additional observation to the discussion of incarceration and capital that is rarely offered. As the titles of many books on reentry suggest, the majority of incarcerated individuals "come home" (Travis, 2005); upwards of 750,000 are expected to reenter the "free world" in 2010 (Petersilia, 2005). And, though it may seem too obvious to articulate, the majority of reentry felons--those exiting prison with the "mark of a criminal record" (Pager, 2003, 2007)—return to the same families and

communities from which they were extracted. And, though most people we have talked to or watched interviews with on television express great joy at the return of their loved one from prison, the majority of these men (and women) are "repatriated" to their families and communities with less capital than when they were "extracted" and thus greater needs, especially for the intensely capital-dependent commodities of housing and employment.

Thus, the long and short of it is that after the initial joy of welcoming home the formerly incarcerated husband or lover or father or son fades, the is simply one more mouth to feed and one more person to house in a family and community already stretched beyond the limits to provide for these types of needs. As we articulate in far more detail elsewhere (Hattery & Smith, 2010), this is especially problematic when the individual returning home has a drug felon conviction—among the most common crime for which individuals are released from prison—for the welfare reform laws of 1996 (TANF), as noted above, render drug felons permanently ineligible for cash assistance, food stamps, public housing or student loans (Hattery and Smith, 2010; Mukamal, 2004). Therefore, the burden that reentry felons place on their families and communities—which are mostly likely highly dependent on social support including public housing, food stamps, and cash assistance—is enormous.

In short, we argue that incarceration not only bleeds capital from communities already resource poor in all types of capital, but reentry further exacerbates the problem by "repatriating" reentry felons—who have had their capital depleted and whose incarceration experience significantly increases their need for capital support—back in to these same communities; those with the fewest resources to expend on the "repatriation" of reentry felons. Thus, taken together, incarceration and reentry place an enormous and unnecessary burden on the most vulnerable of our families and communities and specifically on low-income African American families and communities.

> People on Park Avenue give a lot of money to people who live in Auburn, New York, in order to watch people who live in Brooklyn for a couple of years—and then send them back damaged (Herivel and Wright, 2003, p. 31).

Conclusion

As we have argued elsewhere (Hattery and Smith 2008) at the individual level the exploitation of African American male labor by prisons and multinational corporations that engage in prison industries did not arise out of the blue, nor is it coincidental. Rather, the capitalists of the 20th and 21st centuries have developed a legal way—articulated in the 13th amendment to the US constitution—to exploit the labor of African American men just as their forefathers did in the previous centuries. Similarly, we argue here, that at the family and community level, the implementation of "color blind" drug laws that encouraged the further expansion of the PIC provide a palatable—e.g. "non-racist"—mechanism for continuing to restrict the accumulation of capital by African American families and in African American communities. Thus, the PIC contributes significantly to the racialized gaps we see in wealth, home ownership, business ownership, educational attainment and representation in our governing bodies, that is in many ways no different from the racialized landscape of the 17th, 18th, and 19th century United States; a landscape dominated first by the slave plantation and second by the system of Jim Crow segregation. And, like these racist institutions of the past, the depletion of capital that is brought about by the PIC is likely to have long-term and devastating consequences on African American families and communities.

References

Alexander, M. (2010). *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press.

Becker, G. (1993). Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Beverly, C. (1998). "Black on Black Crime: Compensation for Idiomatic Purposelessness,"*Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 1,183-201.

Bonhomme, J., T. Stephens and R. Braithwaite (2006). "African American males in the United States prison system: impact on family and community," *The Journal of Men's Health & Gender*, 3, 223-226.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2003). *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Lantham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Brunson, Rod. 2008. "Young Black Men and Urban Policing: The Impact of Accumulated Adverse Experiences." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology (ASC).

Chang, T., & Thompkins, D. (2002). Corporations Go to Prisons: The Expansion of Corporate Power in the Correctional Industry. *Labor Studies Journal, 27*(1), 45–69.

Davis, A. (1998). "Reflections on the Prison Industrial Complex." *ColorLines*. Retrieved August 10, 2009. URL: http://thirdworldtraveler.com/Prison_System/Masked_Racism_ADavis.

Davis, D. (2006). *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*.

New York: Oxford University Press.

Durose, M. R., and P. Langan. (2001). *State Court Sentencing of Convicted Felons, 1998 Statistical Tables*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. (1961). "Military-Industrial Complex Speech." The White House, January 17, 1961. Source: Public Papers of the Presidents, Dwight D. Eisenhower, p. 1035– 1040. The Avalon Project at Yale Law School.http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/president/speeches/eisenhower001.htm. Accessed: April 18, 2010.

Elsner, A. (2006). *Gates of Injustice: The Crisis in America's Prisons*. New York:Prentice Hall.

Fox, J. and M. Swatt. (2008). *The Recent Surge in Homicides involving Young Black Males and Guns: Time to Reinvest in Prevention and Crime Control*. Northeastern University Boston, Massachusetts

Friedman, T. (2006). *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the 21st Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Haney, C. and P. Zimbardo. (1998). The Past and Future of U.S. Prison Policy: Twenty Five Years after the Stanford Prison Experiment. *American Psychologist, 53*, 709–727.

Hattery, A. and E. Smith. (2007). *African American Families*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.Hattery, A. and E. Smith. (2008). "A Tool for Racial Segregation and Labor Exploitation. *Race, Gender and Class, 15*, 79–97.

Herivel, T. and P. Wright (ed), (2007). *Prison Profiteers: Who Makes Money from Mass Incarceration*. New York: The New Press.

Hindess, B. and P. Hirst. (1975). *Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production*. London:Routledge.

Jackson, Steven. (2007). "Mapping the Prison Telephone Industry." In Herivel and Wright (ed.), *Prison Profiteers: Who Makes Money from Mass Incarceration*. (Pp. 235–249). New York: The New Press.

Justice Policy Institute. (2002). *Cellblocks or Classrooms?: The Funding of Higher Education and Corrections and Its Impact on African American Men*. URL: http://www.justicepolicy.org

Lin, Nan. (2000). "Inequality in Social Capital." *Contemporary Sociology,* 29,785–795.

Lapido, D. (2001). The Rise of America's Prison-Industrial Complex. *New Left Review, Second Series*(7), 109–123.

Loury, Glenn. (2007). "Racial Stigma, Mass Incarceration and American Values." The Stanford University Tanner Lectures, April 4 & 5, 2007. Accessed August 1, 2009. URL: http://www.econ.brown.edu/fac/Glenn_Loury/louryhomepage/.

Mancini, Matthew. (1978). "Race, Economics, and the Abandonment of Convict Leasing." *Journal of Negro History, 63*,(4), 339–352. [Accessed August 10, 2009 from JSTOR database].

Mauer, M. (2001). *Race to Incarcerate*. New York: New Press.

Oliver, M. and T. Shapiro. (2006). *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality*. New York: Routledge.

Oshinsky, D. (1997). *Worse than Slavery: Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice*. New York: The Free Press.

Pager, D. (2003). "The Mark of a Criminal Record." *American Journal of Sociology,*108, 937–975.

Pager, D. (2007). *Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Peters, J. (2009, March 25, 2009). Albany Reaches Deal to Repeal '70s Drug Laws. *New York Times*.

Petersilia, J. (2005). Hard Time: Ex-Offenders Returning Home After Prison. *Corrections*

Today, April 1, 2005.

Pettit, B. and B. Western. (2004). "Mass Imprisonment and the Life Course: Race and Class Inequality in US Incarceration." *American Sociological Review,* 69, 151–169.

Schlosser, E. (1998). "The Prison-Industrial Complex." *The Atlantic Monthly*, Volume 282, No. 6, pages 51 – 77 –December. Accessed December 28, 1998. URL: http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/print/99812/prisons.

Smith, E. and A. Hattery. (2010). *Prisoner Re-entry and Social* Capital. Lantham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

Smith, E. and A. Hattery. (2006). "If We Build It They Will Come: Human Rights Violations and the Prison Industrial Complex " *Society Without Borders*, 2, (2), 276–92.

Spohn, C. (2000). *Thirty Years of Sentencing Reform: The Quest for a Racially Neutral Sentencing Process*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Thompson, A. (2009). "Democracy Behind Bars." *New York Times* (August 5, 2009). url: http//www.nytimes.com/2009/08/06/opinion/06thompson.html?scp=2&sq=prisons&st=nyt.

Travis, J. (2005). *But They All Come Back*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press. Wacquant, L. (2001). "Deadly Symbiosis: When Ghetto and Prison Meet and Mesh." *Punishment and Society*, 3, 95–134.

Wagner, P. (2004, April 11). *Diluting democracy: Census quirk fuels prison expansion* [Fact sheet]. URL: http://www.prisonpolicy.org/articles/dilutingdemocracy.pdf).

Western, B., M. Patillo and D. Weiman. (2004). "Introduction." In Patillo, Weiman and

Western (ed), *Imprisoning America: The Social Effects of Mass Incarceration*. (Pp. 1–20). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Windsor, L. (2009). *Surviving Oppression Under the Rock: New York Drug Laws and the Lived Experiences of African American Women in Distressed Households*. Unpublished PhD, the University of Texas at Austin.

Wright, E. (1997). *Class Counts: Comparative Studies in Class Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Islam, Rentier States and the Quest for Democracy in Africa

SETH ASUMAH—STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, CORTLAND

Abstract

Islam and rentierism in Africa present a challenge to the process of democratization. Concomitant with religion, Islamist movements, terrorism, conflicts over petrodollars, and the anthropomorphic nature of these nation states are issues and questions involving the combined effects of Islam and rentier politics on the efficacy of state-citizen interaction. Contrary to the position of some political observers that Islam and rentierism tend to distort the democratization process because they enhance hegemony maintenance of those in power, Asumah argues that Islam supported by rentierism could produce reasonable stability for political liberalization. Case studies from Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria and Libya are used to analyze the effects of Islam and rentier politics on these nation states.

Introduction: Islam Today

The believers, men and women, are guardians of one another; they enjoin good and prohibit evil, perform the prayer, give alms, and obey God and His Prophet. (Quran 9:71)

Religion is among the strongest central categories of diversity in many nation states, and Islam remains the fastest growing religions among Africans of the continent and in the African Diaspora. In communities around the world, religion serves as a platform for cohesive organization of the general populace. However, religious diversity makes religious conflict inevitable. In contemplating the bloodshed that was concomitant with nation-building and nationalism, it would be difficult to ignore religion as a culprit. Nonetheless, religion also remains a dominant force in bringing about peace in many communities.

Of the major monotheistic religions in the world, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, people who pursue the Islamic faith are ridiculed and stereotyped more than any other groups in the United States and Africa. In my course on the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), when I ask my students to participate in an exercise called "first thoughts" (what one thinks first of when, for instance, Islam is mentioned), I get a long list of stereotypes: "warmongers", "towel heads," "religious fanatics," "terrorists," "militaristic," "hijackers," "kidnappers," "polygamists" and "undemocratic." My students represent a cross section of the opinion of not just the American populace but also Africans.

Some of these stereotypes may have validity, but most of them are the products of ignorance and xenophobia. Many people, especially Westerners, erroneously equate Islam and Islamization with Arab and Arabization. Certainly, they are related. The Prophet Muhammad, after all, was an Arab and received some of his Arabic cultural training from the Bedouins, the ancient desert dwellers in Arabia. Similarly, Muslims all over the world turn toward Mecca to say their prayers in Arabic. Yet not all Islamic adherents are Arabs, nor are all Arabs Muslims. Non-Arab Islamic people include Africans, African Americans, Persians, Indians, Chinese, Indonesians and even Europeans.

Despite this diversity, in the balance of this es-

Dr. Seth N. Asumah *is a Distinguished Teaching Professor of Political Science and Chairperson of the Africana Studies Department at the State University of New York College at Cortland. Professor Asumah is author, coauthor and coeditor of seven books and over thirty eight book chapters and articles.*

say, I will argue that Islam is not always compatible with Western democracy. Nonetheless, in the process of nation building, African leaders in predominantly Islamic nation states have utilized rentier politics as a tool for securing acquiescence and quiescence from the general populace in order to sustain their hegemony through liberalization to legitimize their *raison d'être*. These rentier approaches and rentier shifts by regimes are concomitant with restructuring of power relations between the nation states/power-holders and different Islamic organizations and institutions within the African polity.

The Arabic word *Islam*, derived from the root *salama*, meaning peace, is a neologism. The word's meaning is therefore currently open to several interpretations, and it has been translated to connote "submission," "resignation," and "obedience to the will of Allah—the Islamic term for the only omnipresent, omnipotent and merciful God, who has no feminine or plural attributes (Husain, 1995, p.5). With over one billion adherents in the world today, it remains the second largest religion—spreading throughout Europe, Asia, North America and Africa (ibid).

Nevertheless, the discourse over Islamic fundamentalism and the challenge to the authority of the modern nation state, television images of a Muslim, events such as terrorism, the September 11, 2001 bombing of the World Trade Center by Muslims, the challenge to the authority of the state by Islamic Revivalists in Algeria, Egypt Nigeria and Libya and the renewed War on Terrorism by the West have all called for a reexamination of Islamic theosophy and its relationship to democracy. Furthermore, the dynamics of the world's political economy and the West's dependence on petroleum resources have posed a new challenge to the nation, the Islamic community—the *umma*. In the *umma*, Shiite-Sunni divergence, the nature of rentier politics in Africa, and the seeming incompatibility of Islam and democracy are complex issues that raise new questions about the authority of the nation state.

In most Islamic nation states in Africa, politics and religion are inseparable, and rentier politics supported by primary resources such as petroleum can facilitate the process of legitimacy of the rulers in maintaining their hegemony. Islamic Middle Eastern nation states around the Arabian Peninsula have been more successful in engaging in rentier politics than countries with oil and large populations of Muslims in Africa. Yet Islamization, supported by rentier philosophies in some countries, has facilitated the process of nation building with a modicum of democracy in predominantly Muslim countries in Africa. As Calabresi et al carefully note:

> Even Muslim critics of the Bush Administration's style say that its post-9/11 push for political liberalization has helped rekindle debates that have long simmered across the Muslim world....how Islam can accommodate the influence of democratic ideals and Western culture. In this, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini ...had it right when he declared that Islam is inseparable from politics (Calabresi et al, 2004, p.60).

Even though Islam advocates peace and harmony in the community, the process of attaining and maintaining power is somewhat different from that of Christian democratic entities. In traditional Islamic communities, the principle of election has no practical significance, nor were there mechanisms whereby the general populace could request accountability from the rulers. So far as the governors promised to abide by the *Sharia*—the Divine Law, legitimacy by deference ensues. I will return to this discussion later in this article.

Many non-Muslim Africans, Americans, and Europeans are appalled by the infusion of mosque and state in Islamic countries. The fact is that the principle of separation of mosque and state does not technically exist in Islamic countries. Does this lead to prejudice and, at times, discrimination against people from different political cultures? Is Islam a threat to Western democracy? Is the rising tide of Islamic Fundamentalism aimed at purging the Muslim world of Western corruption, a "new" dynamic for challenging the state's authority and instituting the Holy Quran as the state's highest authority? Does the failure or the inability for the three monotheistic traditions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—to work out their problem of identification of divine exclusivity with ethnic-religious exclusivity serve as harbinger of ethno-religious prejudice? Will Islamic ethnonationalism continue to haunt predominantly Muslim countries in Africa where Islam is also a political force? To address these questions, I am inclined to argue that Islamic revivalism in the 21st Century presents a new challenge to the power structure of the state and to Western democratic thinking, resulting in a misunderstanding of Islamic political culture and attitude in Africa.

Fundamentalism or Revivalism: Which is More Threatening to the Nation-State?

Islamic Fundamentalism:

Fundamentalism is one of the favorite terms used by the Western mass media in reporting about Muslims. The term was originally used and continues to be applied to a conservative Protestant movement of nineteenth-century America. It (Fundamentalism) fell into disuse and was recoined to signify and symbolize conservative movements among the major religions in Africa and the world. Islamic Fundamentalists are rather aggressive in political action. They spearhead the revolutionary spirit of Islam. Islamic Fundamentalists become even more aggressive when modernizing institutions of the nation-state threaten their existence. They advocate anti-Western cultures and are against lifestyles such as rock music, pornography, dancing, gambling, the use of drugs, and the sale of alcohol. Fundamentalists strictly observe and abide by the teachings of the Quran—God's holy book, and the *Shariah*—Islamic laws governing the individual and societal arrangements of Muslims.

The founding father of *Wahhabism*, Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahhab (1703–1792), engaged in total iconoclasm of "refined" Islam by returning to purity, simplicity, austerity, and the piety of Islam's classical period (Husain, 1995). *Wahhabism* has spread and sustained quite well in Egypt, Nigeria, Libya and Algeria, and it is catching on quickly in the United States of America among African-Americans. In Egypt, for instance, the founder of Egypt's Ikhwan Al-Muslimun, a fundamentalist leader named Hassan Al-Banna (1906–1949), outlined ambitious plans for the establishment of an Islamic state.

Islamic reform movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood have concentrated their efforts on eradicating secular Islamic governments. Fundamentalism in Islam irritates Westerners because of its "antimodernist" position and tendencies. Most Western democratic nations associate Islamic Fundamentalists with groups such as *Hizbullah*, and movements that have followed Khomeini's theosophy in Iran. Such groups advocate the expulsion of foreign influences and ideas, then work toward the achievement of social justice within the nation-state. Khomeini clearly painted the Fundamentalist position on religion and politics and rejection of foreign conceptions of the politics/religion dichotomy. He asserts:

> Do not heed those who imagine that Islam is like present-day Christianity, that the mosque is no different than the church or that Islam is merely a relationship between individual and God...Imperialist institutions instilled evil in the hearts of men, saying that religion does not mix with politics...[M]ost unfortunately, some of us have given credence to those lies (Khomeini, 1979, p.7).

Islamic Fundamentalists have a passionate and sincere desire to establish an Islamic nation state based on strict interpretation of the *Shariah* and antimodernist positions. Denunciation of Western ideas, including the challenge to Western democracy, becomes part of the revolutionary spirit of most Fundamentalists. What then is Islamic Revivalism? What is the connection between Islamic Fundamentalists and Revivalists? Is Islamic Revivalism a threat to the West and democracy?

Islamic Revivalism:

Islamic Revivalism invokes the insurgence, reawakening and reinterpretation of the Islamic interests, symbols, precepts, norms and ideals, especially after a long period of relative dormancy. Ali Hillal Dessonki reiterates this position:

> Islamic Revivalism refers to an increasing political activism in the name of Islam by governments and opposition groups alike.... Islamic groups have assumed a more assertive posture... as contenders for public loyalty.... Thus, Islamic resurgence refers to the increasing prominence and politicization of Islamic ideologies and symbols in Muslim societies and in the public life of Muslim individuals (Dessouki, 1982, p.4)

Islamic Revivalism is therefore a broader concept than Islamic Fundamentalism. Fundamentalism is therefore a recent embodiment of Revivalism. Husain carefully notes that the manifestation of Islamic revival can include a broad spectrum of the Muslim society: populists, grass root movements, schools, Fundamentalists, government officials, and academicians, including religious approaches in solving socio-political problems. (Husain, 1995) For this matter, it is important to emphasize that Islamic Revivalism is not a monolithic force spearheaded by a single person or a group of Muslims. Islamic Revivalism, as a generic term, refers to anyone, a group of people, or process that has contributed significantly to the revival of Islam.

The present form of Islamic Revivalism is more globalized than localized in predominantly Islamic

countries. Its presence is evident in Africa, Asia, the United States, as well as Europe. This globalization of the faith makes Islamic Revivalism polycentric and anthropomorphic. Islamic Revivalists are generally preoccupied with the discourse over theology, culture, economic disparity, justice and the polities of modern day Islamic nation-states. Foreign affairs and international relations for the good of the *umma* are a recent serious concern of Revivalists. The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), established in 1969 by Islamic Revivalists is charged with the promotion of Islamic solidarity through socio-economic and religio-political activities. The OIC encourages cooperation among 56 Muslim countries including over twenty African countries and adherents of the Islamic faith in other countries. Libya, Egypt, Algeria, and Nigeria are member nation states of the OIC (Wright, 1993). The OIC practices "linkage politics," a conception propounded by James Rosenau (1969), which stresses the interconnectedness between domestic and international dimensions of organizational functions. Domestic and international politics of Islamic nations are inextricably connected and "linked." The extraordinary turbulence that has defined Islamic Fundamentalism and that of Revivalism, especially in between the 1980s and 2000s, continues unabated in Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Nigeria and even in some European countries such Spain and the United Kingdom. The demise of communism and the reemergence of political Islam in both Fundamentalism and Revivalism have made the Western democracies and emerging nation states of Africa more conscious and cautiously perturbed about Islamization. In Western democracies and Africa today, the preoccupation with political Islam is probably at the same level as it once was with communism at its apogee. Similarly, Western fear of the reemergence of political Islam is rooted less in reality than in misperceptions and misunderstanding of Islamic theosophy, culture and politics during the process of development and nation building. Included in development crises are identity, legitimacy, penetration, participation, and distribution (Roskin, 1995).

Firstly, identity crisis probes the issue of how the general Islamic populace identifies with each other, accommodate Jews, Christians and other religious groups, and identify with the total "nation" of Islam worldwide. Secondly, legitimacy is a nation-building crisis that questions the authority and leadership within the nation. Legitimacy is how the governed perceive that the governors are rightful. Legitimacy is not only seen in the leadership of the community, it is sought through the authority of the Koran and other religious teachings. The basis of legitimacy is the *Shariah*, which is a body of regulations drawn from the Koran and tradition. Thirdly, political penetration relates to how community leaders gain legitimacy, formulate and implement community policy or goals without force or the threat of force. There is no need to use force to gain obedience from the general populace or convert to Islam. Fourthly, political participation, the process whereby individuals within the community engage in activity that impinges on the community structure and leadership capabilities, brings the populace into the decision making process. Elie Kedourie (1992) acknowledges that:

> The duty to obey the caliph was not simply the outcome or concomitant of a civil contract between rulers and the ruled: it was grounded in religion. The Koran declares; "O believers! Obey God and Obey the Prophet and those who are in authority over you" (p.4).

Finally, the crisis that the community would have to transcend in order for it to maintain sustenance is distribution. This involves equitable distribution of resources and political power. The problem with political power is that it is the one thing in any community that is never equally distributed, and the Islamic community is no exception. Yet, Islam as a religion opposes all ethnic and racial differential which would justify the superiority of one group over others (Enayat, 1993).

Several questions arise at this juncture. First, to what extent do Islamic Revivalism and rentier politics come into conflict with the nation building process and democracy? Second, owing to Islam's specific quality as a religion that advocates submission and obedience to the will of Allah and the nation state, there remains a theoretical and doctrinal irreconcilability between Islam and democracy. So, what then are the chances for democracy to succeed in Islamic African countries? Third, do rentier states succeed in nation building by providing the basic needs for the people and buying the silence of the general populace so that there is very little opposition to the hegemony of the state? Fourth, what is unique about Islam that complements political rentierism in the process of liberalization or democratization? In order to address these questions, I will provide a synopsis of rentier politics and with specific references to Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria and Libya, I will assess the relative propensity for democracy to succeed or fail in these nation states.

Rentier Nation States: Social Programs, Acquiescence, Quiescence, and Democracy:

The crises of nation building discussed above apply to all nation states and not only Islamic ones. The modern nation state is the largest, self-sustaining, self-reliant, self-sufficient political configuration in the modern world. What political scientists call the modern nation state is only about half a millennium old and could be traced back to the demise of older European monarchies and the emergence of strong states (Roskin, 2004). Strong modern nation states have characteristics such as defined territorial areas, general populace, governments, and recognition from other nation states. Nonetheless, because of global interaction and interdependence, the principles of self-sufficiency and self-reliance are all relative terms.

Rentier nation states obtain most or a substantial portion of their national revenues from the rent and profit attained from local primary resources such as oil sold to foreign clients and investors. These states therefore live off rent or income of oil or other natural resources and purchase support from their populaces by buying legitimacy through distribution of goods and services via the process of de- politicization and cooptation. Furthermore, rentier authorities practice politics of emanation, where the leaders treat themselves as an extension of the omnipresent and the people. If the superodinate regards him/herself as an extension of an omnipotent being, then the subordinate denies him/herself of independence due to mysticism surrounding the power holder.

A rentier state is anthropomorphic and it acts as a father figure for the citizens. The state indulges in placatory politics, subsidizing foodstuff, housing, and social benefits to the society. In order for placatory politics to be effective, in Islamic rentier states, the leaders play on Islamic philosophies, balancing the opposition and dividing resistance in order to remain hegemonic.

In Leonard Seabrooke's work on social source of financial power of Western states, he argues that "a rentier shift…leads to a propagation of economic social norms from the state on how the economy should work" (Seabrooke, 2006, p.14). Furthermore, he contends that a "rentier shift is therefore a period in which the state has negatively intervened according to the above social mechanism" (Seabrooke, ibid, p.15). In his observation of rentier politics in democratic capitalist states of England, Germany, United States and Japan, Seabrooke conceptualizes rentier shift as negative intervention in the free market by the state when it provides assistantship to low income groups. (Seabrooke, ibid) Nonetheless, in Islamic nation states of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and other Muslim countries in Africa, the phenomenon of states providing assistance to the general populace out of profits from exports and investments in primary resources may be seen by the objector as negative, but the process has produced, arguably, positive results. One may argue that the negative aspect of this practice (rentier politics) is the state's interference with the free market in addition to buying off resistance from the opposition.

Yet it is important to note that even the champions of democracy and the free market, the United States of America, recently engaged in a sort of rentier shift by bailing out Wall Street, the automobile industry and major financial institution to the tune of over 700 billion dollars. The Obama administration stimulus economic package of another 850 billion dollars to assist middle income America is another rentier shift. Is this a rentier behavior? Why is rentier politics in Islamic African nation states and the Middle East criticized, especially by Western observers?

Sorenson's work attempts to address the questions above by noting that in rentier wealth creation in Africa and the Middle East only a few people are involved. These rentier states count on foreign investors and revenue for most of their income (Sorenson, 2006). Furthermore, in rentier politics, the states perform most of the economic activity on behalf of the general populace. The *Arab Human Development Report* of 2003 indicate that, "Economic returns do not necessarily accrue from hard work and high productivity, particularly in political systems that constrain freedom and do not encourage people to be industrious" (p. 134). Critics of rentier politics in Islamic nation states have used the above argument against states that lack democratic institutions and processes and attempt to purchase the silence of the opposition in order to maintain state authority. Nonetheless, proponents of rentier politics have a concrete argument for state stability and the effective distribution of social programs and wealth of the nation state, absent democratic processes. To tackle the issues of lack of democratic engagement in African Islamic countries, the following questions should be raised. Do all nation states need democracy to survive? Is the Western style democracy the only process of governance for Islamic African nation states?

Some Perspectives on Democracy

In order to appreciate the process and meaning of democracy in the Islamic countries of Africa, it is essential to have a clear understanding of democracy itself. According to Stephenson, democracy from a Western perspective requires a system of government based on four objectives:

1. majority rule expressed in free, periodic elections

2. full protection of minority rights against an irrational or tyrannical majority

3. protection of individual rights to freedom of speech, press, religion, petition, and assembly

4. equality before the law for all citizens, regardless of race, creed, color, gender, or national origin (Stephenson, 1992, p15).

Stephenson maintains that the four objectives for democracy are "to a degree, in conflict with one another" (p.29). For democracy to work, therefore, there must be compromise in little bits, persuasion and a deliberation until a specific goal is attained. Yet Stephenson's characterization of democracy affirms procedural more than relational democracy. While procedural democracy is more concerned with the process of governing fairly, relational democracy emphasizes freedom and justice where "the individual and society are inextricably linked in a range of possibilities and limitations... An aspirational idea—the dignity and equality of all human beings and their rights to freedom, justice, opportunity and self determination." (AAC &U, 1995, p. 17)

Dahl (2000) argues that "Democracy cannot guarantee that its citizens will be happy, prosperous, healthy, wise, peaceful or just" (p.60). This means that both the general populace and the nation state make concerted efforts to secure the success of democracy. Yet, in countries where democracy has been successful, there is sufficient evidence that it evolved rather than being forced on or juxtaposed with indigenous structures or other forms of governmental systems. Regardless of the inadequacies and flaws of democracy though, most Western observers believe that the benefits outweigh the costs of establishing it.

If many of the benefits for democracy are true, then why have most Islamic African countries not been subscribing fully to the ideals of democracy? One can argue that the implications of the Western perspective of democracy to Islam are immense. In Islam, as noted earlier in this essay, the *Sharia* or Quranic holy law is the law of the land. This is critical when one speaks of human rights in Islamic African countries. The *Sharia* is what gives rulers their legitimacy and mandate to rule. This is a divine right to rule. Also, legislation passed by government may not contradict the doctrine laid out by the *Sharia*. Despite the legal authority of the *Sharia*, leaders in rentier nation states circumvent the laws of the state in order to pacify the general populace in their efforts to establish their hegemonic powers. Under these circumstances, how could governments in Islamic nation states carefully balance their democratic civic duties and rentier politics vis-à-vis the sacred obligations of their religion, Islam?

Islam, Rentier Politics and Democratic Challenges in Algeria

The case of Algeria is a clear example of the perceived incompatibility between Islam and the fundamental nature of democracy. Recent events in Algeria demonstrate this assertion. Since 1962, Algeria has been ruled by a one party government. In 1988, there were a number of insurgencies, and a six day civilian food riot in which 400 people were killed (*La Liberte*, 1998). This riot was indicative of the people's disenchantment with the incumbent government at that time. The government responded by amending the constitution on November 3, 1988 to enable more parties to participate in an electoral process. The socialist system in Algeria met its demise after the constitutional amendment, forcing the National Liberation Front (FLN), the party that has ruled the nation since independence, to entertain opposition for the very first time.

In June 1990, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) won 55 percent of the popular vote compared to 31 percent for the FLN (ibid). After the FIS stressed its desire to establish an Islamic state, the FLN engineered a coup d'etat. The coup makers installed Muhammad Boudiaf, an Islamic modernist, to head a five member "collegial presidency." Boudiaf was assassinated by Islamic Fundamentalists in July of 1992. Algeria continues to sit on a time bomb of the development crisis of legitimacy, participation and distribution discussed earlier in this article. An important question that arises after studying the Algerian case is, can Islamic political fundamentalist movements coexist with secular parties in a "democratic system?" Also, if the party of Islamic Fundamentalists believes it alone speaks for God, what are the chances

of it handing over power graciously to another party after losing an election?

These questions are profound but need to be examined in the context of modern Islamic Revivalism and its concomitant activities. In the wake of the Islamic Salvation Front's (FIS) victory, for instance, statements made by its leadership reiterated the seeming incompatibility between Islam and democracy. Entelis and Arone report that Sheikh Abdelcader Moghni of the FIS proclaimed: The Algerian people have given victory to Islam and have defeated democracy, which is nothing but apostasy (pp. 23-27).

The irony of this statement is that the FIS utilized the democratic process quite well to its advantage during the electoral campaign, but once it attained the votes, it planned against the very process that earned it victory. Had the FIS victory been recognized by the state's secular authorities, it would have marked the first time in Algeria's history for the Fundamentalists to gain power through direct and legitimate elections.

The quest to establish an Islamic government and a nation state based on Koranic law has not subsided. In the 1990s, militant Islamic laws continued to frustrate the hard-line military-backed government by attacking and killing innocent Algerians. Most of the killings have occurred during the Ramadan, the ninth month of the Islamic calendar, when most Muslims indulge in a rigorous, month-long fast. Absent health problems, all adult Muslims during this holy month must abstain completely from drink, food, and sexual intercourse from dawn to dusk. Human endurance and resilience are at their lowest point and it is rather "unholy" or an act of cowardice that the militants elect the month of the Ramadan to make a religio-political statement to the government.

In January of 1998, *Liberte,* the Algerian independent paper, reported that 412 people were killed near the city of Relizane at sunset, just as they were breaking their fasts on the first day of the Ramadan. The insurgents kill indiscriminately. Men, women, and children die by swords and daggers. Throat slitting and beheading are not uncommon with the insurgents. Violence between government security forces and Muslim insurgents has claimed the lives of 75,000 since the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) was denied the right to change Algeria into a theocracy (Dunn, 1992, p.16).

Relative peace returned to Algeria under President Boutiflika in the early 2000s, because of a peaceful negotiation by the president for the FIS Islamists to lay down their weapons in exchange for amnesty. During this negotiation, though, the struggle against other Islamists did not end. Now, Algeria could be termed a multiparty state, but party politics is filled with antagonism. The government refuses to allow religious parties to send candidates to run for elections. This could be termed the politics of antipolitics, if some groups are deprived of the avenues for contesting in an election. In April 2004, President Boutiflika convincingly won 83 percent of the vote and propounded a Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation, offering an olive branch to the Islamists. (Sorenson, 2008). Yet, Algeria has not been very successful with rentier politics.

Algeria's national oil company, Sonatrach and many foreign investors have not developed sufficient profit to pacify the Islamist opposition. There are signs of Algeria's transition to democracy, but as one observer succinctly notes, "Algeria's future includes the possibility that its petroleum resources may one day provide the springboard for sustained economic development and political stability" (Sorenson, 2008, p.411). The observation above alludes to the fact that rentier politics could facilitate the process of democratization in resources-rich developing countries. With France's refusal to interfere in Algeria's domestic affairs and the oil industry's inability to pacify opponents of the regime, it would take a well planned strategy by the current Algerian government that would include the pacification of the opposition through the provision of social programs to achieve a lasting stability.

The Egyptian Example: Islamist Opposition and Weak Rentier Politics

In Egypt, Islamic extremists and Fundamentalists are challenging the state's authority and questioning the secular power of that nation-state. Historically, the Fundamentalists group, Ikhwan ab-Muslimun, had supported state power under Gamal Abdel Nasser, who attained power by overthrowing the monarchy of King Farouk in 1952. Nasser's rise to power was based on anti-imperialistic, revolutionary, Arab-nationalist inclination. The Fundamentalists' support for the secular pan-Arabist position of Nassar lasted only up to 1954, when Nassar refused to accommodate their Islamic Revivalist position. This was hardly the end of the Fundamentalists' politics in Egypt. They reemerged in 1967, especially after the state relaxed its restriction against them.

Egyptian government's strategy to defuse Fundamentalist violence against the state has been to reintegrate the latter into Egyptian political sphere, thus separating violent Revivalists from nonviolent ones. Divide

and conquer? Sadat not only did this in the 1970s, but also appropriated the title "the Believer President" and had the mass media cover his activities as a Muslim, including praying at the mosque, increasing the number of mosques in the country, and giving support to Islamic student's organizations. Paradoxically, Anwar Sadat's support for Islamic activities enhanced the legitimacy and revivalism of militant Islamic groups who later on condemned Sadat for being a hypocrite, un-Islamic, politically corrupt, and controlled by infidels of Western democracies (Esposito, 1991).

Sadat's pro-Western political and economic ties, the Camp David accords, and his condemnation of the Ayatollah Khomeini reconfirmed the Fundamentalists' accusation against him and the Egyptian society as being "unbelievers." Even worse, was Sadat's vehement denunciation of his religious critics in February 1979 by calling for the separation of religion and politics in Egypt. This was clearly against Islam and the notion of an Islamic state. On October 6, 1981 he was assassinated by members of the Islamic Fundamentalist group, *Tanzim al-Jihad* (Esposito, 1991).

In the 1990s and 2000s, President Hosni Mubarak, successor to Sadat, has been tested both by Islamic Revivalists and Fundamentalists. Still, while Islamic Revivalism and extremism are on the rise and have become a significant irritant to government and society, it seems unlikely that the Algerian situation could replay in Egypt. The Mubarak administration is faced with a tough choice of fighting internecine warfare with Islamic militant groups like Al-Gamaa al-Islamiyya and the Muslim Brotherhood. It is projected that the only group that could undermine the government is the Muslim Brotherhood because of the composition of its membership. Egypt's bourgeoisie, including scholars, lawyers, engineers, doctors and business people have strong support for the Muslim Brotherhood. The organization has seats in parliament, but would like to establish an Islamic state through non-violent means. Hala Mustapha, a specialist in Islamic extremism, a Cairo-based think tank, relates the government's fear:

> When the government saw the growing presence of this group in associations and political and social organizations, it wanted to put a stop to it. The new law... indicates the government's concern (Grauh, 1993, p.9)

The government's crackdown continues to be severe. It includes widespread arrests and mop-ups of entire villages (Dunn, 1994). The Mubarak regime has engaged in state violence, mass arrest and sometimes tortures to crack down on Islamist groups such as *Jamaat al-Islamiyya* (Fletcher, 2008). One complex aspect of the Egyptian case is that it has a profound international dimension because of extremists' attacks on foreigners. Violent activity by Islamic Fundamentalists and extremists echoes not only along the Nile but in other nation states. Sheikh Umar Abd al-Rahman, the blind spiritual leader of *Al Gamaa* al Islamiyya, an extremist group that has continued to irritate the Egyptian government, was accused of complicity in the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York, and in an attempted coup to bomb the United Nations and traffic tunnels in New York. Abd al Rahman's connection to El-Sayyid Nosair, an Egyptian serving time in the United States for his involvement in the killing of the Jewish fundamentalist Rabbi Meir Kahane has heightened the awareness of violent activities by Muslims in the diaspora. These cases make the Egyptian Islamic Revivalists even more threatening on a global level.

In 2005, to balance the efforts of dismantling Islamic groups and their leadership such as al- Jamaal and al-Jihad from politics with allowing more room for civil society to participate, President Mubarak was faced with a new challenge by the intelligentsia. (Sorenson, 2008). This group, the Egyptian Movement for Change, also known as Kifaya, continue to denounce the Mubarak regime for being a puppet of the United States and an instrument of Zionism.

The Mubarak regime does not have adequate natural resources to be a good player in rentier politics. It has not been successful in silencing the opposition by providing them with socio-economic benefits. The Egyptian economy, once dominated by the agriculture sector and infant industries, has shifted to the service sector with small industries. The unemployment rate of 10.1% is better than most African countries, yet the population explosion of 79 million people is creating a nation of unemployable youth that tend to depend on government for support (*CIA Fact Book*, 2008). Furthermore, the tourism industry has suffered since the attacks by terrorist against tourists occurred in 2005. This sector generates about $9 billion annually for the Egyptian economy (Sorenson, 2008, p. 250) Aside from revenue (about $3 billion) from vessels using the Suez Canal, the United States' foreign aid to Egypt is the third largest source of revenue for that nation state.

Egypt has indulged in periodic rentier shifts by using American aid only to thwart the efforts of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Jihadists, the Tarfir wal-Hijna, and the new intelligentsia but the government does not have the means or investment profits from primary re-

sources to buy acquiesce and quiescence from the close to 94% Muslim population. (Podeh, 1996, pp. 45–46; *The Washington Post*, 2004). The rentier shifts by the regime have supported the commercial and military elites in order for the government to maintain hegemonic power for qualified democracy to ensue.

Nigeria: Islam, Democratic Experiments and Failed Rentier Shift

Oil and petroleum products are the major assets for Islamic African nation states in this study to sustain political power. Nigeria, the most populous Black nation state (population of 146,255,312) has about 50% Muslims and the country belongs to many Islamic organizations such as the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), nonetheless, the state is more secular than theocratic (*CIA Facts Book*, 2008). Many of Nigeria political leaders have been Muslim, yet that nation has resisted the pressures of becoming a purely Islamic state. Nigeria is a megastate in the African context and with over 250 ethnic groups and two major religions—Islam and Christianity, there is always an avenue for tribalism, nepotism, and religio-ethnonationalism.

Pre-colonial Nigeria was not a nation state. Nonetheless, there were several city states and kingdoms such as the Hausa, Benin, Oyo and Ife. The Hausa state is relevant to this work in that Islam reached Northern Nigeria around the fifteenth century (Aborisade and Mundt, 2001). Madrasahs and Koranic schools, concomitant with Islamic cultures emerge in Northern Nigeria. The Hausa and the Fulani people sustained the Islamic culture from the time. The Fulani have their origin in Western Sudan. Even though the Hausa and Fulani developed trade routes and established a commercial capital in Sokoto, now Northern Nigeria, the Fulani, under the leadership of Usman dan Fodio revolted against the Hausa kings and Usman dan Fodio's son became the sultan of Sokoto until the sultanate was defeated by the British in 1903(ibid).

British colonial policy galvanized Nigeria by bringing the north and south together as one nation state in 1914. In most African states, the scars of colonialism and imperialism can never be totally erased in Nigeria. Exploitation of indigenous resources, missionary activity, Eurocentric political institutions, Western education, duality of cultures, dual economy, and interference in traditional institutions are some of the colonial legacies in Nigeria today. After gaining independence in 1960, Nigeria was submerged in praetorian politics (soldier in governance and coups d'état) for many years. From 1966 to the present that nation state has experienced over ten major military coups. One interesting phenomenon in these military juntas is North/Islamic and South/Christian rivalry. For instance, the 1990 failed coup against the Babangida regime was seen by most Nigerians as a "Christian coup against the Northern Muslim leadership" (Chazan and LeVine, 1991, p. 207). Furthermore, Northern Nigeria's Grand Kadi once stated, "a Muslim could not accept a non-Muslim to lead the nation and that if a Muslim leader is not acceptable to Christians, the country would have to be divided into two parts" (Forest, 1995, p.117). Arguably, in Nigeria, Muslims and Christians alike have maintained opposing viewpoints so far as leadership religious affiliation and autochthony are concerned.

Nigeria's membership in the Organization of Islamic Conference is a perplexing matter to the Christian population in that country especially if one puts in perspective the objectives of the OIC. The charter has provisions which include; a) to preserve and promote the lofty Islamic values of peace, compassion, tolerance, equality, justice and human dignity; b) to endeavor to work for revitalizing Islam's pioneering role in the world while ensuring sustainable development, progress and prosperity for the peoples of Member States; c) to enhance and strengthen the bond of unity and solidarity among the Muslim peoples and Member States; d) to respect, safeguard and defend the national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all Member States. (*OIC Charter*, March 2008). It is noteworthy that there are twenty objectives and over twenty other items in the charter that emphasize cooperation, solidarity, education, economics, science and religion. The major issue at this point is whether it is prudent for a country that is slightly over 50% Muslim to become a member of the OIC and if it is, where does that place the rest of the population?

Nigeria continues to toy with the Islamic question, but the issue of rentier politics or lack thereof and the struggle over oil and petroleum products are serious enough to create commotion and civil war in that country. Oil exploration started in the 1930s but the production of petroleum products reached marketable limits in Nigeria in the 1970s and has since changed the nature of the political economy of that nation state. One would think that Nigeria, with an Islamic population and oil resources, could easily engage in rentier politics to establish stability in that country. Nonetheless, oil has brought both a blessing and a curse to Nigeria. In 1995, after the Nigerian government executed an environmental activist, Ken Saro-Wiwa, against the plea

of many observers in the world, the conflict between foreign-owned companies (Chevron-Texaco, Royal Dutch Shell, Total Fina Elf) and the Nigerian government on one side and the residents of the Niger River Delta has reached the apogee.

Nigeria's oil industry is the largest in Africa and the fifth-largest source of United States oil import, yet the residents of the Nigeria River delta, especially the Ogoni people dwell in poverty. Despite former President Olusegun Obasanjo's election in 1999, which was the beginning of a democratic transition in Nigeria, conflict over oil resources has ensued. Even though the conflict is more ethnic in nature, there have been "several communal clashes in recent years which led to death of hundreds of people in Plateau State…in clashes between Christian militias and Hausa Muslims (Afrol News, July 16, 2008). The current president of Nigeria, Mr. Umaru Yar' Adua, has been working to bring peace to Ogoniland, where the indigenous people where exploited and abandoned by Shell Oil Company 15 years ago. The current Nigerian President has promised to replace Shell Oil with another company that would develop a positive relationship with the Ogoni people (Clottey, June 6, 2008, p.1).

Nigeria has ample petroleum resources to enable the state to engage in rentier politics, yet there are endless conflicts between the government, oil companies and the Niger River delta resident. These residents are both Christians and Muslims, so the issue is not about Islam, but an ethnonatioalism and autochthony. It is only on Christmas day 2009 that the failed attempt to blow up a Northwest Airline flight 254 from Amsterdam to Detroit by a young Nigerian Muslim, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, has called the world to question the Islamic Revivalists motives against democracy in Nigeria. The transition to democracy, one would argue, could have been smoother if the government could "buy" peace with some of the oil revenue, but communal conflicts, Christian/Muslim rivalry for leadership, and mismanagement of the rentier resources have all reduced Nigeria to a failed rentier nation state.

Libya: An Emerging Rentier State and Qualified Stability

Libya, for most of its history, has suffered from foreign invasions and control. These conquerors included the Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, and the Turks. The name Libya was crafted by the Italians, referring to its coinage by the Greeks to describe North Africa, except Egypt. Consequently, after independence was attained in 1951, and King Idris was overthrown in a military junta, there was a restructuring of Libya from a kingdom to a republic. The Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya remains the official name of Libya today. "Jamahiriya" was a term coined by Libyan President Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi, symbolic of delivering state ownership to the rightful people, not the aristocracy, after his successful coup d'état in 1969. This North African country is a quintessential case for an Islamic rentier nation state that is recently flirting with qualified democracy.

The 1959 discovery of petroleum in Cyrenaica, Libya was the birth of petrodollars and wealth to Libya. As it is in most cases in the developing world, and Africa in particular, oil brought both a blessing and a curse to Libya. Colonial powers and oil companies from both Great Britain and the United States exploited the country and this exploitation was associated with resentment from the indigenous people, giving birth to autochthony, nationalism and ethnonationalism (Sorenson, 2008, p. 384).

After the demise of the Libyan monarchy, Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi, a praetorian leader, not only promoted a political theory of Afro-Arab socialism but initiated a new people's revolution. This revolution started with the politics of antipolitics, dismantling the King Idris' power base, developing a Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), later called the General People's Congress (GPC) and propounded the "third universal theory," which deemphasized the tenets of Islam, but did not abandon it. The "four pillars" of Quadhafi's Afro-Arab socialism include: socialism, Arab unity, popular democracy, and progressive Islam (Sorenson, 2008, p. 385).

Quadhafi's challenge at the beginning of the revolution was to dismantle the Islamic base of the monarchy, which was a strict theosophy structured on the thinking of an Algerian Islamist, Sayid Muhammad bin Ali al-Sanusi—hence the Sanusi order. Al-Sanusi's theosophy is an aspect of Islamic revivalism. Al-Sanusi settled in Libya in the nineteenth century after being deported from Egypt and could not return to Algeria because of the French occupation (Ziadeh, N., 1958). Even though the monarchy's legitimacy was derived from Islam, its illegitimacy was revealed by its lack of result-legitimacy. Before oil was found, it was only Islam that galvanized the tribal society of Libya as a nation state. Why, then, did Qadhafi dismantle Sanusi Islam?

Indubitably, it would be lethal for any leader with over 98% Sunni Muslim population to attempt to dismantle the very base of his/her legitimacy. With that in

mind, Qadhafi forged alliances with the *ulama* (Islamic clerics), used Islamic institutions such as the mosques for political events, injected the *Sharia* (Islamic law) into the legal system, and Islamic educational institutions flourished. Nevertheless, by 1973, the colonel has sustained hegemonic power by redefining his position and vision on Islam and by effectively engaging in rentier politics. The ideological base for the consolidation of Qadhafi's power was the Third Universal Theory and three volumes of his *Green Book*. Egalitarianism, socialism, Arabism and anti-imperialism will shape the "new" Libya (Al-Qadhafi, 1980). One could easily deduce from Qadhafi's philosophy that if he is not equating Islamization with Arabization, then, he almost circumvented Islam. Not too fast.

The "new" Libya did not totally eradicate the old form of Islam. Traditional Islam reemerged and the only way President Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi could curtail another Islamists revolution against the government is to consistently engage in rentier politics and using oil revenue to purchase the acquiescence and quiescence of the general populace. Sorenson asserts:

> Libya is a classic rentier state…Even before Qadhafi came to power, Libya derived considerable revenue from selling oil to other countries. The massive oil revenue allowed Libyan authorities to bypass the normal state economic regulatory institutions that guide economic development. Instead, Qadhafi and his small circle of close political allies could decide on economic distribution without the accountability that state agencies might provide (Sorenson, 2008, p. 390)

Rentier politics in Libya became even more meaningful to the regime's observers when Colonel Qadhafi coined the *Jamahiriyya* concept of giving governance to the people. This means that the Libyan government would become anthropomorphic, a father figure that provides for the people and in turn buys their silence in politics. Yet in the 1990s, the opposition to the regime increased. Many of Libya's middle class, revolutionaries who have lost faith in the socio-economic programs of the regime, Islamists, praetorians, and the new generation of Libyans were questioning Qadhafi's policies (Takeyh, 2000). Furthermore, the sanctions imposed on Libya by the United States and the United Nations for the Pam Am flight 103 bombing in Lockerbie, Scotland interfered with the ability of the rentier state of Libya to provide adequate support for the general populace until the sanctions were lifted in 2004. Since then the United States has reestablished relationship with Libya and a full American Embassy was reestablished in 2006.

Libyan authorities and the security establishment have utilized rentierism quite successfully in that the opposition to Qadhafi's regime has not done serious damages even when the government was confronted with external restrictions and economic sanctions. The lingering question is: Do rentier nation states such as Libya thwart progress in democratic reforms? While some Western observers such as Seabrooke et al would suggest that rentierism is sheer interference with the democratic process. Nevertheless, Mufti affirms that that rentierism harms the prospects for democracy less than Islamic resistance and other factors such as economic downturns (Mufti, 1999). It is my observation that in the developing world, rentierism serves as a catalyst for nation building and limited democracy and in Islamic African nation states with petroleum products, rentierism could nurture the prospects for democracy.

Conclusion

Islam is not a violent religion. A very simple faith, Islam has over one billion adherents with diverging viewpoints and interpretation of the Koran. In this essay I have attempted to draw on Islamic beliefs and conception that impact the process of nation-building both negatively and positively. The "new" concept of Revivalism which advocates Islamic autonomy within and without the nation has been misassigned by many Westerners as undemocratic and backward. The West runs the risk of neglecting to see the possibility that Islamic states in Africa may have many qualified democratic elements and a large number of supporters universally, if Westerners only consider isolated negative events as the only criterion for measuring Islamization in the society.

Islam may not be compatible with democracy because the *Shariah*, which is a body of regulations from the Koran and tradition facilitate the governing of the nation-state and not the people. Islam, for this matter, fails another test of democracy. Nonetheless, the emergence of rentier politics and the dynamics of international political economy depending on petroleum resources, the nation state and political reality have placed certain limitations on many of the old belief systems. As can be readily seen, Islam is a complete system providing spiritual, socio-political and moral guidelines for its adherents, but as an international religio-political force, ideological conflicts, power struggles, questions concerning equality, social justice,

political participation, and autonomy will continue to threaten the nature of Islamic nation-states as dialectical forces of Islamic Revivalism and rentier politics continue to challenge the process of democracy in Islamic nation states in Africa.

What is new in this study is that perhaps the political culture of Islam as a peaceful religion and one that advocates submission tend to create a nurturing ground for African nation states with ample petroleum resources to engage in rentier politics. The deeper the Islamic affinity with the state and the more the petroleum products the state has, the greater the marginal propensity to engage in rentier politics with limited democracy. Yet, I do not intend to perform a premature autopsy on democracy in Islamic African countries that practice rentier politics, nor do I believe that all countries and groups need democracy to survive. In the end, I believe the pressures of the twenty-first century and the global political economy that depends on petrodollars will inevitably push both Islam and democracy to recognize the utility of a symbiotic relationship.

References

AAC & U. (1995). *The Drama of Diversity and Democracy*, Washington, D.C: AAC & U.

Aborisade, O. and Mundt, R. (2001), *Politics in Nigeria*. New York, N.Y: Longman.

Afrol News, (July 16, 2008). "Niger Delta residents Flee Militants" www.Afrol.com/articles/29854.

Ali, Y. A. (1946). *The Koran: Text Translation and Commentary*. Washington, DC: American International Printing Company. (3:95).

Al-Quadhafi, M (1980). *The Green Book*. Tripoli: The Green Book World Center.

Arab Fund for Social Development (2003). *Building a Knowledge Society: Arab Human Development Report*. New York: United Nations Development Program.

Bill, J.A. and Springborg, R. (1994). *Politics in the Middle East*, New York, N.Y: Harper Collins

Calabresi, M. et al (September 13, 2004). "Struggle for the Soul of Islam." *Time*, Vol. 164, No. 11. New York, N.Y.

CIA (2008). *CIA Fact Book*. Washington D.C.: US Government Publication.

Clotty, P. (June 6, 2008). "Residents in Nigeria Restive Niger Delta Hail President's Decision About Shell Oil" *News VOA*. Washington D.C.

Chazan, N. and Levine, V. (1991). "Africa and the Middle East Patterns of Convergence and Divergence" in John W. Harbeson and Donald Rothchild, (eds.). *Africa in World Politics*. Boulder. Westview Press

Dahl, R.A.(2000). *On Democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Dawood, I. (1961). *The Quran*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, Chapter 4:3.

Dermenghan, E. (1930). *The Life of Mahomet*. London: Routledge and Sons.

Dessouki, A. H. (1982). *Islamic Resurgence in the Arab World*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Dunn, M.C. (1992). "Revivalist Islam and Democracy: Thinking About the Algerian Quandary." *Middle East Policy*: Vol. 1 No. 2, p. 16.

Dunn, M.C. (1994). "Fundamentalism In Egypt" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 1 No. 8 p. 69.

Emuys P. (1966). "Consequences of the Segregation of the Sexes Among the Arabs" Paper Delivered at the Mediterranean Social Sciences Conference, Athens, Greece, p. 15.

Enayat, H. (1993). *Modern Islamic Political Thought*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

Entelis, P. and Arone, L (1992). "Algeria in Turmoil: Islam, Democracy and the State." *Middle East Policy*, Spring, pp. 23–27.

Esposito, J. (1991). *Islam: The Straight Path*. New York. N.Y.: Oxford University Press.

Fletcher, H. (May 30, 2008). "Jamaat al Islamiyya Also known as: Gama'at al Islamiyya, Al Gama'at; Egyptian al Gama'at al-Islamiyya; Islamic Gama'at; Islamic Group, Jama'a Islamia" *Council on Foreign Relations*. Washington, DC.

Forrest, T. (1995). *Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Frankel, G. (January 6, 2004) "Egypt Muzzles Call for Democracy." *The Washington Post*.

Grauh, S. (1993), "Terror on the Nile" *Africa Report*. May/June.

Guillaine, A. (1955). (Translation). *The Life of Muhammad*, London: Oxford University Press.

Husain, M. Z. (1995). *Global Islamic Politics*. New York, N.Y.: Harper Collins Publishers.

Kedourie, E. (1992), *Politics in the Middle East*, New York, NY, Oxford University Press.

Khomeini, A. (1979). *Islamic Government* (Translation). Joint Publications Research Service, New York: Manor Books, Inc.

La Liberte, (January 1998). "Ramadan Death Toll up to 412." Algiers, Algeria.
Langelier, J. P. (July 1989). *Islam*. World Press Review.
Mufti, M. (1999). "Elites Bargains and the Quest of Political Liberalization in Jordan" *Comparative Political Studies*, February. p. 100-130.
Organization of Islamic Conference (2008). *Charter*. www.oic-oci.org/oicnew/home.asp.
Podeh, E. (Summer 1996), *Terrorism and Political Violence*. Sabeh al-Khayr.
Rosenau, J, (Ed). (1969). *Linkage Politics*, New York, NY: Free Press.
Roskin, M. (1995), *Countries and Concepts: An Introduction to Comparative Politics*, Englewood Cliff, N.J: Prentice Hall.
Roskin, M. (2004), *Countries and Concepts: An Introduction to Comparative Politics*, Englewood Cliff, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
Seabrooke, L. (2006). *The Social Sources of Financial Power: Domestic Legitimacy and International Financial Order*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
Shah, S. (Summer 1991). "Allahu Akbar!" *The Nuclear Times*.
Sorenson, D. S. (2008). *An Introduction to the Modern Middle East*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
Spencer, W. (1994). The *Middle East*. Guilford, Connecticut: Dushkin Publications.
Stephenson, G., Ed. (1992). *American Government*, New York, N.Y. : Harper Collins Publishers.
Takeyh, R. (2000). "Qadhafi's Libya and the Prospect of Islamic Succession." *Journal of Middle East Policy Council*, Volume VII, Number 2.
Wright, W., Ed. (1993). *The Universal Almanac*, Kansas City, MO: Universal Press.
Ziadeh, N. (1958). *Sanusiyah: A Study of a Revivalist Movement in Islam*. Leiden, Holland: E.J. Brill.
Zubaida, S. (1991). *Islam, the People and the State*. New York, N.Y.: Tauris Ltd.

Progressive Paths to Masculinity for Young Black and Latino Men in an Urban Alternatives-to-Incarceration Program

MEGHA RAMASWAMY — UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

Abstract

This study examines the ways in which young Black and Latino men in an urban alternatives-to-incarceration program conceptualize masculinity. By utilizing theory on progressive Black masculinities as a framework, this paper analyzes focus group data collected from 38 men in the program. The men in this study define their own masculinity primarily by their ability to support a family, but emphasize caretaking skills they learn from women in their families, providing for children emotionally and physically, and recognizing children's autonomy. Finally, the men in this study talk about masculinity as both love received and given in the context of family and community. The findings from this study lead to suggestions for improving outcomes for young Black and Latino men involved in the justice system.

Introduction – Rethinking Masculinity

Black and Latino men in the United States face the triple burden of racism, gender discrimination—and many, such as the men in this study, disproportionately experience incarceration. Throughout this text, I will use the term Black to refer to people of African Diaspora, and to such populations that reside within the United States. To some, African Americans are a subgroup within the larger Black community. Since our discussion purposely includes those who may be first-generation immigrants or who, for whatever reason, do not identify as African American, we employ the term "Black." Furthermore, we capitalize it to distinguish the racial category and related identity from the color. Similarly, we capitalize the word White when referring to race. "Latino" refers to the ethnicity for men of Central American, South American, or Caribbean descent. We use this term because it is considered by some as more of a self-descriptor, compared to "Hispanic," which is widely regarded as a US government imposed identity. "Latino" refers to a region and a particular history of Latin-American and US relations, potentially giving more meaning as an ethnic category to the people it describes.Given the intersection of race, gender, and criminal justice involvement, this study explores whether young Black and Latino men with criminal histories can break away from pop culture and media stereotypes to have a more progressive experience of masculinity. A theory of "progressive Black masculinities" (Mutua, 2006) offers such a framework for rethinking masculinity among men of color in the United States.

The starting point for this study is bell hooks' (2004) call for understanding a more complex view of masculinity among men of color, particularly Black men. She argues against "the more mainstream writing about Black masculinity that continues to push the notion that all Black men need to do to survive is to

***Megha Ramaswamy** recently completed a PhD in Sociology at City University of New York, where she studied incarceration, gender, and health. As Assistant Professor of Preventive Medicine & Public Health at University of Kansas, her current work addresses reproductive health service utilization of women and men leaving jails*

become better patriarchs." Athena Mutua (2006) points out that "masculinity as domination" (or patriarchy) is indeed reinforced by several larger social structures – the economy, the government, the family, and the criminal justice system – that have oppressed men of color in America. Patricia Hill Collins (2006) charges that men of color should be able to reject social norms that celebrate traditional gender roles for men (i.e., playing the provider), given the difficulty achieving such an ideal in this economy and society.

So what makes masculinity progressive? Mutua, the editor of a recent book on progressive Black masculinities (2006), offers the following definition: "Progressive Black masculinities are unique and innovative practices of the masculine self actively engaged in struggles to transform social structures of domination." Hill Collins also argues for a distinction between dominance and strength in defining more progressive masculinities. To paraphrase Hill Collins (2006): How can men of color create a progressive masculinity that isn't based on dominance and exploitation of others? How can a progressive masculinity that isn't grounded in dominance help men develop fulfilling relationships with children, partners, family, and peers? What strategies can help men of color redefine conceptions of strength within progressive masculinities? This study seeks to address some of these questions by exploring a more complex view of manhood among young men involved in the criminal justice system in New York City through discussions about masculinity learned from women, changing (i.e. less patriarchal) attitudes about child rearing, and their discourse around love. Though the young Black and Latino men in this study don't endorse ideas about masculinity that fit exactly with theory on progressive masculinities outlined above, their narratives do potentially offer a more progressive path that could have implications for intervention development and in turn, improved outcomes for young people involved in the criminal justice system.

A progressive approach to redefining masculinity could have also implications for the young men's partners, children, and community. bell hooks wonders whether Black men, in particular, would see better outcomes in their lives if they were freed from social constraints on their manhood – expectations to fulfill the provider role and exhibit toughness or dominance, for example. She argues that if Black men were encouraged to communicate, express their feelings, show and feel love, and express insecurity, they might overcome some of the societal disadvantages they face. Gary Barker (2005), who conducted a four-region global study of masculinity and social exclusion, also finds that there is immense pressure for young men, both Black and Latino, to conform to certain standards of toughness and financial prowess – often by any means necessary. By attempting to meet these standards, poor minority men often get themselves in trouble – through violence that ultimately leads to a run-in with the law. Barker argues that exploring more progressive ideas about masculinity (which some of his participants express) could be effective in larger scale violence prevention and health promotion.

Barker notes that men of color experience disproportionately high rates of homicide, violence, traffic accidents, HIV, and other sexually transmitted infections. All of these outcomes are related to how young men are socialized, rather than any biological or genetic deficits (Barker, 2005). Indeed, others have traced the history of violence in poor urban neighborhoods to the evolution of masculinity "scripts" that perpetuate this violence (Canada, 1996). Therefore, targeted programs that address gender socialization and the social context in which violence, disadvantage, and disease occur, could lead to improved outcomes, such as reduced risk for HIV, violence, and incarceration. Because the present study takes place in an alternatives-to-incarceration program, an explicit rehabilitation facility, it is likely an ideal setting for such intervention-style approaches.

Though most of the theory on progressive masculinities addresses the experience of Black men in America, the theory is also applicable to other groups of oppressed men. Fieldwork-based studies about Black and Latino men reveal stories of men trying to gain respect in the face of multiple forms of oppression (Anderson, 2000; Barker, 2005; Bourgois, 1995). Both Black and Latino men in these studies seem to experience the same high rates of incarceration, the same kinds of marginalization in the workplace, and struggle to "prove" themselves in an economy where they simply cannot be breadwinners (Barker, 2005; Bourgois, 1995; Mauer, 2006). Some have also demonstrated that second generation Latino teenagers (who make up most of the jailed population of Latinos in New York City) aren't so different form urban Black youth in terms of culture (Smith, 2006). For that reason, this paper applies theories of progressive masculinities to both the Black and Latino participants in this study. I'll discuss the possible limitations of this approach at the end of the paper.

In addition to exploring progressive masculinities, this paper attempts to re-envision masculinity for poor, urban Black and Latino men involved in the correctional

system. I explore views on masculinity among Black and Latino men in focus groups at an alternatives-to-incarceration program and address the following questions: 1) How do young men in an alternatives-to-incarceration talk about manhood? 2) Are there more complex narratives about what it means to be a *real man*, or are there discussions that fit with theory of progressive masculinities?

Research Methods

In Spring 2008, I conducted eight focus groups with a convenience sample of 38 men recently released from New York City jails and New York State prisons into an alternatives-to-incarceration program. Approximately four to six men participated in each focus group. Participants were recruited at the program during a weekly morning meeting. The hour-long focus groups addressed perceptions about participants' masculinity in their daily lives. For example, they were asked: "What is your definition of a real man?" "How do you learn how to be a man?" "What are some examples of things that you or guys like you do that make you feel like a real man [in the home, school, work, with sex partners]?" The focus groups were tape-recorded and transcribed. Pseudonyms were used to identify participants in the transcripts, as well as in this paper. All participants completed an informed consent document approved by the Hunter College, City University of New York Institutional Review Board.

This study employs a grounded theory approach for the study design and analysis, meaning that data collection, analysis, and theory development occurred simultaneously (Charmaz, 1983). I used open-coding for delineating conceptual categories for each focus group, and kept previous focus group coding in mind for analysis of subsequent focus groups. A colleague also read through the transcripts and open-coded each focus group independently, in order to establish some level of inter-rater reliability. Three dominant themes were extracted from these transcripts, which will be discussed throughout this paper.

Setting, Methodology, and Confounders. I specifically chose the alternatives-to-incarceration program as a setting for this study and the focus group as a method for data collection in order to make some preliminary observations about how group discussions can be used in a rehabilitative context. Alternatives-to-incarceration programs offer sampling opportunities to find people with criminal justice involvement, but who live in the "free world." Thus, the results of this study reflect attitudes about masculinity more relevant to living among family and friends, compared to incarcerated masculinities. Sampling in this setting, however, prohibits a more robust analysis of the relationship between incarcerated masculinities and manhood after incarceration—longitudinal study design would facilitate that. Focus groups are helpful for understanding how people interact to produce a specific discourse (Hollander, 2004), and researchers have argued that capitalizing on certain dialogues between men can be useful, especially in terms of violence prevention or promoting healthy lifestyle choices (Barker, 2005). One potential problem with focus groups is that they don't capture the way people talk in their "natural settings." However, because the young men in this study have been meeting in small groups for the past six to nine months as part of regular programming at the agency, their conversations and the groups are "natural" in the context of the alternatives-to-incarceration program (Kitzinger, 1994).

The results of this study should also be understood in the context of programming at the alternatives-to-incarceration program. Data were collected in a program where participants were spending up to four hours per day for six to nine months in skill-building groups about anger management and self-esteem development that featured conversations around image, values, and beliefs. Participants sometimes also took part in parenting groups at the agency, which promote involvement in children's lives, discussions about family configurations, and openness around barriers to effective parenting. This programming likely affected participants' responses to certain questions, although their comments are still very much a reflection of how they are learning to talk about gender issues and family. This is a study about how a group of men *talk* about manhood in a safe space, not necessarily a reflection of their behavior elsewhere. It is worth noting that my gender (but perhaps not my ethnicity, since I am a woman of color) may have elicited certain responses. Although a limitation, this might also inform future interventions with a diverse set of facilitators. However, when discussing the results presented here with three agency group facilitators (male and female), they confirmed they had heard similar stories to what these men shared with me.

Participants. Twenty-one (55.3%) participants were Black; 14 were Latino (36.8%); three were White or other (7.9%). The median age of participants was 21, and ages ranged from 18–54. For all clients in the alternatives-to-incarceration program, (there were 323

at the time of this study), the median age was 21, and ages ranged from 16–57–thus, the sample was fairly representative of the population. One-quarter of participants in this study were incarcerated one year or more, and among them, the average time spent behind bars was 4.6 years. According to records for all clients in the alternatives-to-incarceration program, 10.8% of clients (those reporting incarceration for one year or more) had been incarcerated an average of 5.2 years. Although the agency only collects data on incarceration history for one year or more, participants in this study reported incarcerations anywhere from 24 hours to a few days, to a few months or years. All clients in this alternatives-to-incarceration program had been in jail for at least one day, with rare exceptions, and most were first-time felony offenders with few prior arrests or incarcerations (most had charges for weapons possessions, robberies, and drug possessions/sales).

Results

The most common definition of what it means to be a real man was supporting and caring for one's family. In order to explore this general theme, and with a focus on more progressive forms of masculinity, results are divided into the following categories: masculinity as taught by mothers; children and masculinity; and love and masculinity. These three themes, especially the first two about family, emerged in almost all focus group discussions. Portions of the transcript on the topic of love were included to demonstrate that such a discussion with young men is certainly possible. Though participants' primary definition of masculinity—supporting and caring for family—conforms to fairly traditional notions of masculinity, examining their conversations illuminates interesting perspectives on caretaking and roles.

Learning to be a Man from Mom. Brian, a 25-year-old Black man who prioritized "god and family" in his commitments, was generally soft-spoken but quick to voice his opinions. Brian started a conversation about where a guy could learn how to be a man by saying first and foremost, a boy could learn how to be a man from a grandfather, father, or even an older cousin—all male figures. A lot of participants started the conversation this way by pointing to male figures as a source of where a person learns about manhood. But when pressed for exact role models in a man's life, like Brian, several of the participants noted that if he [father, grandfather, or other men] isn't around, then you learn from your mother. He said:

> Brian: I learned how to be a man from my mother. She had me doing manly things to prepare me for the world. Doing the laundry, giving me responsibilities to go pay for this, go buy groceries; giving me responsibilities to cook, clean, take care of stuff that a man would do for himself if he didn't have no woman around. My mother always prepared me—I need you to be a man cause I may not always be here. So she showed me certain things about how to be a man, do this and that. And that's how most men learn.

Given his large stature (Brian was easily over six feet tall), it was interesting to watch him define "manly things" so casually as taking care of the home, cooking, and cleaning. His description was more about self-sufficiency than a strict gender-based interpretation of "manly" responsibilities. Nevertheless Brian still described self-sufficiency in the context of not having a woman around to do this work, which still speaks to his notions about traditional gender roles.

In a separate focus group, four men had a very similar conversation about learning "manly" household tasks as part of manhood. Sean, a quiet and slight Black male, aged 21, who initially said taking care of *himself* was a priority for being a real man, started the conversation:

> Sean: My father was in my life—in and out, though. So I had my mother and my stepfather. I used to have to watch my little brother when she was at work. Had to make 'em something to eat when they came home from school. Had to take care of 'em, bathe 'em at night. I had to know how to fix the game box. Take 'em to the store.

Sean gave this response when asked how his mother taught him to be a man. This conversation followed yet another participant brainstorming about the kind of men who could teach a guy to be a man—father, grandfather, uncle, guy on the street. Then Brandon, who joined in on the conversation below, said, "Well not for nothing, but my mom taught me how to be a man." Bill, a 54-year-old Black man who during the focus group reflected on 40 years worth of involvement in illegal activities, interjected:

> Bill: My mother, she had a hand in everything. Just like when you say your mom showed you how to cook—that's being a man right there. Don't have to worry about someone doing something else for you. She pays the bills. My pops gives her the money so she can pay the bills. But seeing her

> take responsibility for certain things, that shows me that you know all those responsibilities they share . . . I could hold those responsibilities.

There it is again—learning how to cook—"that's being a man right there." It was interesting that both Bill and Brian actually used the words *man* and *manly* to describe basic household tasks like cooking and cleaning. This seems non-traditional, especially when it comes to how society has traditionally defined gender roles, except that Bill couched this in terms of his dad giving his mom the money to pay bills. But in the last sentence about responsibilities, Bill demonstrates that he respects his mom's responsibilities by saying that seeing her abilities gave him confidence to carry out some of those same tasks. It is also worth noting that Bill said his father's primary role was to check up on his schoolwork and punish him if he misbehaved. But as he said, his mom had a hand in everything. In response to this, Brandon offered the following account of his childhood and learning to be a man:

> Brandon: My pops took the easy way out. See, that's how I know what being a man is not. You know? Like instead of really being there for my moms, he pretty much left my mom. But I couldn't see my moms doing all that herself. So that's when I saw that I had to be the father figure to my three little brothers. So I started doing things I wasn't supposed to do for the man responsibilities, like selling drugs . . . pretty much nothing to be good in life. I couldn't sit around and see my brothers wanting cause my moms can't do what they want. So I'm gonna go out there and do what I gotta do. [Author: What other things did you have to do?] Maybe cook, maybe take 'em to school, maybe clean. My moms got to get the rent up, you know what I'm saying?

Brandon, a good looking, well-built Black man of 25 who bragged about the contrast between one of his brothers—a kid like a "rocket scientist"—and the other men in his family, who he characterized as mostly "jail birds," had a commanding presence in the room. He wasn't afraid to speak his mind or engage with the others. He explained that he learned to be a man by example, from the absence of his father. For Brandon and some of the others, part of becoming a man and doing the work of caring for siblings was about necessity—like acquiring financial resources, even if through illegal means. For the participants in this study, selling drugs, committing a robbery, or engaging in illegal activity to get money was always about finances. Only one participant in all of the groups said it may have been about "being cool," but this was in the context of learning that it's "cool" from television and the media. When asked if selling drugs was ever about being cool, all other respondents said no. Rather, it was easy money and would help contribute to family income. As for the necessity to raise siblings, two participants said they had to play the role of a parent because of a parent's drug use.

Unlike the other participants, Brandon framed his role as a "father figure." The others at least did not express this gendered role when discussing their responsibilities for siblings. Brandon not only assumed the role of provider, but also of caretaker. Interestingly, he also pointed to his mother's role as financial provider – being the one who had to "get the rent up." While this may have been a single-parent household, it was certainly still a home with at least two caretakers and two providers.

In all of the conversations about how household responsibilities were part of learning to be a man, generally speaking, none of the other participants ever objected or asked for clarification. On one occasion, when a young man said it was important to make the home "nice and dandy," a couple of participants chuckled. But the young man pressed on. As noted earlier, when I asked the participants where they learned to be a man, usually they thought of male figures that might be in their lives. But I came to expect that someone in each group would eventually talk about his mother – and the participants matched that expectation. Though only a few participants lamented the absence of their fathers (with the exception of Brandon), three of the agency group facilitators said this was a recurring theme in their own skill-building sessions. The facilitators also said that often, the young men would aspire to be better than their own fathers—an aspiration consistent across race/ethnic and economic lines in other studies (Kimmel, 2008; Taylor & Behnke, 2005).

The references to learning masculinity from mothers are not particularly novel or surprising. Though the passages above highlight an interesting skill set learned from mothers and out of necessity: caretaking of children, housekeeping, and overall self-sufficiency. This is not a language of domination, even though it's explicitly a conversation about manhood. In other words, this speaks to a more progressive approach and reflection on learning masculinity.

Children and Manhood. When describing how they learned to be men from their mothers, participants referred to caretaking responsibilities for siblings. They

also talked in the *past* tense. But when they talked about their own children, the men generally spoke about the future or the present, and the language of caretaking tasks was absent. It's likely that some of the respondents did not have kids yet, although at least 25 out of 38 participants (65.8%) reported having children. With this slight distinction in language, differences emerged in language about past experience versus expectations for how things should be in the future.

Family and children (or siblings) figured prominently into the men's definitions of manhood. When talking about kids, the participants returned to this focus on being a good provider or support system. But they were clear about "support" not just being financial. Frankie, a soft-spoken and introspective 21-year-old Latino man, the youngest in an all-female family with four sisters, gave the following example:

> Frankie: My definition of a real man is like someone who is responsible for his actions, responsible for his own decisions, making his own decisions. If he brought a kid into this world, taking care of that child. First and foremost is emotional support, like not having an image around the kids—"Oh I'm daddy, daddy don't do this." 'Cause kids don't set boundaries on the love they want. . .'Cause if you don't got it [money] you don't got it. But love is always there.

In the way that Frankie talks about "providing" for his kids, he is primarily concerned with providing love if all else fails, as well as the ability to provide financial support. Frankie is also someone who spent four years of his late adolescence/early adulthood in prison. This experience rendered him incapable of providing financial support for a child during that period of time (he has a child who is about 4–5 years old). Perhaps it is this experience that leads him to place emphasis on love and emotional support. On the other hand, it is unclear whether this notion of being an emotional provider, not just a form of financial support to his kids, is something the program staff engrained in the participants (or potentially the result of growing up with four older sisters). However, as seen in other research, it would not be surprising to hear young men of child rearing age talking about a desire to support their offspring (Barker, 2005).

The next passages, which came up in two separate focus groups, revisit this issue of supporting children. Dennis, a 21-year-old Black male, who hinted at a rough home life—largely absent parents who were both drug users, having to take care of siblings as a result of parents' drug use, and the experience of being shot at age 14, said the following about the future, in the context of answering the following question: "What kind of man do you want to be?":

> Dennis: When I do have kids, I want to be the type of man whose kids can look back on what I did and say, Yo this dude was this. . .besides financially just being there. If you there financially, you giving child support but not there. To be there physically—as long as you come through on the weekend—let's go here there, or you know what I'm saying. Just somebody your kids can talk to when kids have problems.

Here, Dennis talks about the importance of being physically present, which he defines as "coming through" on the weekends. His expectations of child rearing (he isn't a father yet) are that of someone who doesn't live with the mother of the child. In this passage, Dennis distinguished parental involvement from just financial support and emphasized physical presence in the child-father relationship. He also discussed being the kind of parent that kids can just talk to if they have problems, which refers back to emotional support. This sentiment is exactly what Neal (2004) describes as a progressive masculinity, with an emphasis on the emotional and physical aspects of fathering. But the extent to which this discourse (in particular, the conversation with Dennis) is progressive is still an open question. Ultimately, these men strive for fulfillment of the "provider role," a feature of patriarchal masculinity. What's interesting is the flexibility of their language given their social and criminal justice circumstances. These men come up with more sustainable ways of "providing," but in Dennis's case, his language may reflect the instability of his own childhood.

In addition to talking about emotional and physical demands of child rearing, two young men in the same focus group discussed roles of children in the family. When I asked J.C, a 22-year-old Latino man who has one daughter, to give me his definition of a real man, he said that a real man holds his family together. I asked him if it was okay for someone else, not a man, to hold family together:

> J.C.: It's a partnership between family—a man, woman, and the children. And the children play their part as they grow up. So they can learn. My nephew, since I watched him growing up is that they started to play a role as they get older. It's not just me telling 'em what to do. Everybody plays a role of coming together.

What's especially notable here is the way in which J.C. calls out the hierarchy in family. J.C. framed the family as an entity in which all members, including kids, were on equal footing – at least in terms of playing a role in the family. In contrast, the traditional head-of-household role for males is fairly consistent in the literature on Latino immigrants in the United States (Smith, 2006; Taylor & Behnke, 2005). It is also curious that J.C. described this awareness of a child's role by pointing to his nephew as an example, considering that he has a school-aged daughter of his own. It is possible he didn't speak from experience with his daughter because his nephew was a more constant figure in his life. In the same conversation with J.C. above, Bobby, a younger Black man who had earlier expressed that having kids makes a person take "the best kinds of risks," added:

> Bobby: I think a real man has to express all his different sides so that his children or the other family he's raising can see that there is many ways to be, as opposed to just following all the time. And you show 'em all the different facets—personalities—so kids who are coming up, they see that and not be afraid to show a little bit of themselves too.

> Bobby also speaks to the hierarchy in the family. He rejects the notion that kids (or anyone else) should be "followers." Bobby says kids should not be afraid of revealing their personalities, something that bell hooks (2004) says Black men are generally not encouraged to do. Finally, Bobby says that it's perfectly acceptable to take care of children, even if they are from other families and he is helping to raise them.

The most striking thing about the way the participants in this study talked about children (even their own) was that they talked in terms of expectation—not necessarily experience. When the men talked about raising siblings in the previous section, they spoke about specific experiences and caretaking tasks. Though when they talk in terms of expectation, it is unclear if they are repeating what they learned at the agency. Nevertheless, the agency at least provides a safe space to have this discourse.

After speaking with a group facilitator who leads the parenting groups at the agency, she explained that the expectations of fatherhood presented here (the "shoulds") was likely a gap between what the young men *want* to do and what they actually *can* do. She said that because the men were explaining these expectations, they could have been demonstrating the following thought: "Here, let me show you that I understand what being a good father is like." She also said that she is sure most of these men would love to be the parent who shows up to parent-teacher meetings. But several of the agency group facilitators said that the young men face extraordinary barriers to parental involvement—their youth and inexperience, the pull of the street, conflict with custodial parents, not being able to have a job or engage with school, and criminal histories. Given these barriers, it is unclear if the men in this study embody a more progressive masculinity because they are truly resisting a patriarchal social structure, or if their views are a result of their particular social circumstances. But the men's emphasis on a variety of roles for family members does speak against dominance in the household and the emphasis on dominance inherited from patriarchal culture and previous generations.

Love and Masculinity. bell hooks (2004) and Barker (2005) argue that poor men of color (hooks refers to Black men) rarely are taught to love themselves, nor do they have personal examples of families in which married couples show love and respect for each other. As a result, they haven't always experienced love themselves in a traditional family environment. One of the agency group facilitators also said that when discussing how to show love to children, some of the young men just don't have the tools or experience with their own fathers to act on their intentions. Given this background, I wanted to present some passages in which the participants discussed love in their lives.

Rick, a Black man in his late 20s and, incidentally, a regular participant in cooking classes at the alternatives-to-incarceration program, reflected on how so much of his experiences of *doing* masculinity as a younger man were reactive and about having to prove his manhood. In Rick's focus group, three out of the four participants engaged in a discussion about how especially in jail, physical space had to be defended to prevent clothes, food, phone minutes, and other belongings from being stolen. One of the younger participants said that getting a black eye in jail was nothing, if it meant keeping his clothes. At the end of the day, the black eye would go away, but to have pride intact and minimize emotional pain was much more important. When I asked Rick what would help him heal emotional pain, for example, he talked about violence:

> Rick: It's the way we express our anger. Some people paint, some people ride a bike, some people box. We don't have all those luxuries where we

from. [Another participant interrupted and said, Some people have guns and knives.] They infest us with drugs, they put liquor stores all over the place. There's nothing to do. There's a park up the block, but you can't be there after a certain time. We pay taxes and we can't stand outside.

This excerpt is included both as a demonstration of how these men talk about options for resolving emotional pain, and as background for how Rick thinks about expressing emotions on the street versus expressing emotions in the presence of loved ones. Rick said about his child:

Rick: As a father now, it's so much more different. [Author: How is it different, in terms of your masculinity and having to prove stuff?] Well, like you're always at an . . . you're always vulnerable with your children. There isn't a wall you know? They open to you and you're open to them. They see the mood swings and the mood changes and they alter their moods. There's no guard. It's a totally unconditional relationship where that love is something back and forth.

These passages show the contrast in how Rick talks about the love he receives from his community compared to his child (he has one child with a long-term trusted partner). He says he is vulnerable to his children. Given that he talked about having to prove himself in jail and on the street, he's vulnerable in those settings as well, but in a markedly different way. The difference is that amidst the vulnerability with his children, there is mutual love, compared with an emotional "guard" when dealing with other institutions. As Rick says, men can show love to children without feeling insecure about the vulnerabilities that come with showing love. He also said that after years of being with his current partner and shedding a sense of having to prove love to himself, he was able to love her "better."

Other participants also talked about love and the responsibility of showing love. When asked for his definition of a real man, Jamal, a 25-year-old Black man who eagerly participated in the conversation, said the following:

Jamal: If you a real man you live your life for people who care about you. A real man ain't scared to love nobody. You gotta show love to the people who care about you. Even though how old he may get or how grown he think he is, remember if it wasn't for that lady or that man, he wouldn't be here. Take 'em out, go home for Sunday dinner every once in a while, catch up with them every once in awhile. [Author: How does a real man show love to his wife?] Be there for her. When she's stressed, be there for her, support her, spend time with her, and take her out. Let her know that you still care.

Jamal does not have a wife and he didn't indicate whether he has a long-term partner. It is interesting that he said, "A real man ain't scared to love nobody." Is this an ideal? Is this expectation or experience? Jamal did not indicate whether he did this in practice or whether this was the "right" thing to do. Two of the young men in another focus group questioned the use of the term "real man." They said that it was problematic because who's to say what's "real?" They thought they could offer descriptions of what it meant to be a "decent" man. Perhaps that is what Jamal is getting at—what it means to be a decent man. This expectation is different from what Rick describes above, which would be categorized more as experience with love.

Participants were very consistent about their *expectations* for how to love a woman, particularly a long-term partner (the men never talked about homosexual relationships, except for an isolated homophobic comment, perhaps a drawback of data collection through focus groups). When talking about relationships, the participants echoed Jamal's statements about caring for a long-term partner: be there for her, take her out, chill with her, make her feel loved. Again, this sentiment is not terribly progressive, as Jamal still feels pressure to provide. Plenty of the men discussed short-term relationships outside of the relationships with their main partners, but the kind of language presented above was only associated with main partners, not short-term relationships or affairs. The men felt less responsible to the women in short-term relationships or affairs when it came to gift-giving, time spent with partners, and overall loyalty. For all of the progressive discourse these men have in relation to taking care of family members, their feelings about some sex partners still skate around misogynistic attitudes towards women.

A different aspect of love is the role that it plays in the reentry process. Supportive families and other resources helped make for a successful transition from jail to community (participants consistently pointed to how helpful the alternatives-to-incarceration program was). When asked who would help a person snap out of the harmful jail mentality upon reentry, one young man talked about people who "care for you" and an explicit reliance on outside help:

Greg: Even if you in jail and you come out, you

> got family that cares for you. They tell you like what happened in jail, all right, you gotta realize that it won't happen again . . . It could be a friend that you knew before you got locked up in jail or it could be [Another participant said: your parents, your brother, your sister] or sometimes it could be your bunk partner, the guy that been there for 30 years and you got five and you coming out. And he's telling you, "Yo I'm an old head. I been here 30 years. Yo—don't be back here! Don't be back here, do the right thing!"

Greg, a Black 19-year-old with a short stature, kind demeanor, and someone who implied having a long foster care history, lamented about how difficult it might be to return home. The men in this particular conversation said that it's hard to transition from defending your space "24/7" and living in a tiny jail cell to coming back to the community. What's interesting about this passage (whether it's a demonstration of love or not) is that men seem to rely on individuals who nudge them along through the process, at least with words of encouragement. During this same conversation, Jamal echoed this sentiment and said that you might have somebody tell you, "Stay in school, man. Do what you gotta do. Stay away from the people that get caught up." Although it is unclear if Greg and Jamal are referring to actual experiences above, all the participants in the group agreed with this conversation, suggesting that it may indeed be based on experience.

In discussing how the alternatives-to-incarceration program was helpful, especially in showing love, Carlos, a thoughtful 19-year-old Latino man who seemed to have a fairly sophisticated understanding of risks in jail, school, and the street, described staff in the following way:

> Carlos: They talk to you like, you know, give you that little bit of courage you know that you don't get. You know some people don't get love at home, [the agency] shows you that [love]. [Author: How do you think the agency shows you love, what are some ways?] Just that they tell you. They tell you. "You're sure not going back to jail, you know that right? I don't want to see you go back to jail." Just like that. You have somebody that cares for you. You ain't have nobody before tell you that I don't want you to go to jail. When that money's coming in and they see that money, they want to be your best friend. They don't care you the one out there selling drugs. You getting the money. As long as they get some of that money they don't care.

Carlos speaks of a specific set of experiences here. One interesting aspect of this passage is the extent to which a community-based agency can show encouragement and "love," while providing direct services. Just as Rick discussed the set of institutions that don't demonstrate love towards him, here is an example of an institution that is capable of love. The other sobering part of this passage is that people in poor urban communities desperately need money, and often are willing or forced to let others engage in illegal activities to get that money. Carlos did not indicate who was willing to be his best friend and take his money (it could have been a sex partner or even a parent). But other young men, like Brandon, for example, spoke of the necessity to "do what you gotta do," even if that meant robbing someone or selling drugs to put food on the table and help contribute to the family income. Carlos also told a slightly different story from Greg and the others (Carlos was in a different focus group). Whereas it is assumed that Greg had people that might comfort him about going to jail or not going back, Carlos said that nobody ever told him not to go in the first place.

This section certainly does not deal with the complexities of love in these young men's lives. But to some degree, it demonstrates the frustrations and joys around the love they receive from certain institutions and people. These last passages also highlight the men's reliance on instrumental help from people and institutions, which they perceive as a kind of love. Hill Collins states that a progressive masculinity is about finding strategies for marginalized men to redefine conceptions of strength. Part of that strategy for men with criminal histories may be about finding tangible help when navigating social systems.

Discussion

The goal of this paper was to explore how urban Black and Latino men in an alternatives-to-incarceration program defined manhood, and to examine the extent to which those definitions reflected more progressive views of masculinity. As previous researchers have demonstrated in other urban low-income communities (Anderson, 2000; Barker, 2005; Bourgois, 1995), the participants in this study defined being a "real man" primarily as supporting and caring for family, which lives up to more traditional views of manhood. When compared to these other studies, the participants in this focus group articulated that family was a much more central concern to them.

However, when participants spoke of past experi-

ences with caretaking, they referred to the "manly" tasks, like doing laundry, cooking and cleaning. The young men explicitly said they learned how to be a man from their mothers. Furthermore, in the public consciousness, single-mothers have gotten a bad reputation for creating "hyper-masculine" boys that turn to the streets for further gender socialization. In this study, I learned that *real men* cook and parent, often because of what their mothers taught them about manhood. Perhaps this example also reflects the reality of manhood. One potential explanation is that the men in this focus group indeed have more egalitarian notions of gender roles compared to more traditionally defined values. Or, they are enacting a distinct version of manhood in the home—one that is separate from the street. Messerschmidt (1993) has referenced other studies in which gang members act out in certain ways on the street, yet embody an entirely different kind of masculinity in the home, where enjoying housework is acceptable.

As participants discussed their own children, however, they turned back to patriarchal norms to some degree—they focused on being providers—though the men consistently pointed out that providing meant a combination of financial, emotional, and physical support. As noted earlier, this could also be influenced by recent criminal justice involvement that forced them to spend time physically apart from their children, thereby driving a new sense of responsibility. Other possible factors include the absence of their own fathers, the presence of their mother's new boyfriends, or simply wanting to prove their manhood by being good parents in the future. Alternatively, perhaps because these men lack control in so many areas of their lives (the streets, school, work, jail, society at large), parenting might allow them to exert control in one important area of their lives, as one agency group facilitator said. Finally, moving away from being sole financial providers for children could be a reflection of their acceptance of having a limited capacity to provide financial resources.

The last alternative narrative explored in this paper was love. Although the data did not provide a comprehensive view of how love figures into these men's lives, it highlighted some of the ways that love is lacking in their lives or how love could be useful. Studies of masculinity generally fail to take love into consideration, particularly as it relates to identity formation. More recently, scholars (Barker, 2005; hooks, 2004) have called for an exploration of this narrative. In this study, almost predictably, participants felt isolated from some social institutions and in one case, from family as well. But as Barker (2005) has shown, the opportunity for parenting has the potential to change that. The nature of a child's capacity to love, coupled with a new parent's vulnerability, allowed for at least one young man in this study to experience one of his only truly mutually loving relationships. Participants also pointed to the capacity of community organizations or people to show love and support in order to help young men stay out of trouble—an emphasis on instrumental help for achieving goals.

The young men in this study also forayed into more typical conversations about manhood, as other researchers have described (Anderson, 2000; Barker, 2004). For example, the participants said they felt like less of a man when unemployed. As for sexual relationships, several of the men discussed sexual performance as part of being a "real man," though no participants explicitly said anything about having many sexual partners. In general, the men expressed egalitarian views of gender roles when speaking about their sex partners. For example, several said responsibilities should be split 50/50, and that men and women should please each other equally, both sexually and emotionally. However, a few participants notably pointed out that they didn't want a woman who could have control over them. One participant said it was appropriate for a woman to be as smart as a man, for example, but not if she were a long-term partner.

In this paper, I specifically chose to highlight aspects of the focus group discussion that reflected a progressive masculinity. But divergences from this construction of masculinity that emerged from the data have been presented throughout the paper. Given the wide breadth of this topic, further research is still needed to examine the full range of differences in current views on masculinity and how those views change over time.

In sum, the young men's views of their own masculinity are embedded in specific social conditions, power relations, and criminal justice histories (Connell, 1987; Messerschmidt, 1993). What emerges, however, is not the usual story of limited power leading to social disorganization or hyper-masculine behavior. Rather, the ideas expressed by the young men in this study reflect a more progressive adaptation to social circumstances—for example, thinking of gender in terms of household responsibilities and coming up with different ways of contributing to parenting. Such views may be generational, and attitudes about gender roles may indeed be changing. But these views might also be a more progressive adaptation to social conditions in the context of these men's unique life experiences.

The young men in this study do not seem to ac-

tively critique social structures of domination, and in particular, racism, in the context of the three themes explored in this paper. As a result, they fail to embody truly progressive masculinities as it is generally defined (Mutua, 2006). One of the major gaps of this paper and a future direction for study is the need for a rigorous analysis of the intersection of race and gender in the lives of these young men. There is also a need for an exploration of how theory on progressive masculinities fits with the experience of Latino men in the United States. For example, what role does language and the transnational experience play in the construction of masculinity? How are second generation Latino men with criminal justice histories different from Black men with criminal justice histories? No obvious differences were found in this study. Nevertheless, theory on progressive Black masculinities offers an empowering approach to addressing the plight of young men of color—both Black and Latino—who bear the additional burden of disproportionate criminal justice involvement, and thus, unequal access to opportunity. Ultimately, it is frequently structural racism that results in so many Black and Latino men being incarcerated in the first place (Miller, 2006). More research is needed to tease out the ways that race, gender, and experiences in the criminal system interact to produce (or not produce) progressive masculinities.

Another limitation of this study includes the setting of this project—the men in this study participated in programming in a rehabilitative context that, in part, addresses improving familial relationships. These men have also had recent criminal justice histories with incarcerations of varying lengths, which certainly could have an effect on their outlook on roles and relationships in the "free" community. This context may skew the results presented in this study because it represents a particular setting and snapshot in time, but it may also provide insight into how to improve outcomes for people who are leaving jail and working with reentry organizations by channeling more progressive perspectives on masculinity for the long-term.

Ultimately this study does not illustrate truly progressive masculinities at work, where young men of color purposefully eschew social structures of domination (Mutua, 2006), such as patriarchy, racism, and the criminal justice system. For these participants, their embodiment of masculinity seems more subtle, but is definitely embedded in larger social forces. Moving their observations into intervention, for example, would include an active engagement of young men in explicit discussions about racial and ethnic pride, progressive masculinities, and carving out new social spaces for resisting social structures of domination, for example in educational and vocational training programs, alternatives-to-incarceration programs, and in other safe community-based settings. In addition to interventions that reflect theory on progressive masculinities, finding from this study demonstrate the potential need for several policy or programmatic interventions.

A progressive and gender equitable policy would provide resources for young men who want to provide for children. It's one matter for these men to be released from jail as adults and say they want to be there for their kids (which they consistently said), but it's much more compelling that in their youth, these young men dedicated time to taking care of family in the form of sibling caretaking. Free from the pressures to make money and provide financially in some cases, it seems that these young men could be thoughtful and skilled caregivers. Women of their same age, income range, race/ethnicity, and neighborhood of residence are given cash, food, and medical benefits to take care of children. What if these men could be given those same benefits (Canada & Parsons, 2006)? Especially in a society where studies have consistently demonstrated that it's easier for poor, urban women of color to get jobs and an education, such policies might make sense (Levitan, 2007). These policies might also prevent these young men from engaging in illegal activities to support family.

Second, because of the structural and interpersonal barriers to parenting that poor, urban, young men of color involved in the justice system face, it's worth thinking about how to support these young men's desires to be parents in financial, physical, and emotional terms (Neal, 2004). Some of the young men in this study expressed a keen awareness of their limited financial and physical capacity to be supportive of children, and as a result were able to have a consistent discourse (even if learned at the agency) about emotional and physical support of children. Such support could include parenting classes and childcare support, for example.

Third, bell hooks' (2004) argument that men of color have not been given a sufficient amount of love is compelling—whether this comes in the form of being blocked from opportunity, blamed for crimes, or charged as unmarriageable by women in their own communities—and more importantly, not being encouraged to love themselves or taught how to love others. Although this paper provides no concrete answers for how to explore love, it does show that a discourse about love is possible in a specific setting. A discussion based in experience of love – not just expectation of how to

love a child or partner – may encourage men to reflect on how to use love to build confidence and gain respect for themselves, instead of gaining respect through violent or illegal activities.

Finally, this work also confirms what others have suggested about reentry programs being helpful in keeping people out of jail, saving cities money, and getting people access to needed community and health care services (Freudenberg, 2002; Hernandez, 2008). At least one participant, but many others in conversation, said the agency showed love and encouragement and provided much needed technical assistance around education, work, and other social services. Additionally, this sort of program provides a safe space in the free world where young men can get together and talk through issues of masculinity, parenting, and love. A facilitated discussion of this sort is certainly much more feasible in such an environment, compared with that in a jail, for example. This study also demonstrates that young men are willing to have such conversations in a protected setting.

In conclusion, young men in an alternatives-to-incarceration program can certainly have a discourse about more complex views of manhood. Given the potential positive influence of these views on the lives of these men, future researchers and policy makers might continue to study progressive notions of masculinity as a way to improve outcomes for young men with criminal justice involvement. The goal of such research and policy would be to decrease recidivism, health risk, and poor social outcomes for individuals, families, and communities.

References

Anderson, E. (2000). *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence and the Moral Life of the Inner City*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

bell hooks. (2004). *We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity*. New York: Routledge.

Barker, Gary T. (2005). *Dying to be Men: Youth and Masculinity and Social Exclusion*. New York: Routledge.

Bourgois, P. (1995). *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Canada, G. (1996). *Fist Stick Knife Gun: A Personal History of Violence in America*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Canada, G. & Parsons, R. D. (2006). Increasing opportunity and reducing poverty in New York City. New York: The New York City Commission for Economic Opportunity.

Charmaz, K. "The grounded theory method: An explication and interpretation." In *Contemporary Field Research: A Collection of Readings*, ed. Robert M. Emerson, 109–126. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.

Connell, R.W. (1987). *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.

Freudenberg, N. (2002). "Adverse effects of jail and prison policies on the health and well-being of women of color." *American Journal of Public Health, 92(12):1895–1899*.

Hernandez, N. (2008). "For juveniles: ATI." *Gotham Gazette*, June 2 2008. http://www.gothamgazette.com/article/issueoftheweek/20080602/200/2547.

Hill Collins, P. (2006). "A telling difference: Dominance, strength, and Black masculinities." In *Progressive Black Masculinities*, ed. Athena D. Mutua, 73–98. New York: Routledge.

Hollander, J. A. (2004). "The social contexts of focus groups." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, (33)5:602–637

Kimmel, M. (2008). *Guyland: The Perilous World Where Boys Become Men*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Kitzinger, J. (1994). "The methodology of focus groups: The importance of interaction between research participants." *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 16(1):103–121.

Levitan, M. (2007). Unemployment and joblessness in New York City, 2006: Recovery bypasses youth. New York: Community Service Society of New York.

Mauer, M. (2006). *Race to Incarcerate*. New York: The New Press.

Messerschmidt, J. W. (1993). *Masculinities and Crime: Critique and Reconceptualization of Theory*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Miller, T. A. (2006). "Incarcerated masculinities." In *Progressive Black Masculinities*, ed. Athena D. Mutua, 155–174. New York: Routledge.

Mutua, A. D. (2006). "Theorizing progressive Black masculinities." In *Progressive Black Masculinities*, ed. Athena D. Mutua, 3–42. New York: Routledge.

Neal, M. A. (2006). *New Black Man*. New York: Routledge.

Smith, R. C. (2006). *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Taylor, B. A. & Behnke, A. (2005). "Fathering across the border: Latino fathers in Mexico and the U.S." *Fathering*, 3(2), 99–120.

African American Students' Experiences with Special Education in Milwaukee Public Schools

FESTUS OBIAKOR — UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MILWAUKEE
FLOYD D. BEACHUM — UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MILWAUKEE
MATEBA K. HARRIS — UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MILWAUKEE

Abstract

Problems facing African American students with special needs are numerous and complex. Although processes and procedures are essentially in place to properly serve these students, far too many become ensnared in webs of bureaucracy and benign neglect. This article examines African American students' experiences with special education in Milwaukee Public Schools. In addition, it provides recommendations for those teachers and administrators willing to deconstruct the negative impact of these stark inadequacies.

The 1954 *Brown v. School Board of Education* case in Topeka, Kansas was a civil rights case that declared separate education as unequal and unconstitutional (Obiakor, Harris-Obiakor, Garza-Nelson, & Randall, 2005). This was significant because it had the goal of ending segregation in schools on the basis of race, and the vision of opening doors of advocacy for students with special needs (Blanchett, Mumford, & Beachum, 2005; Huefner, 2000). Today, it appears that equitable educational programming and learning are becoming far-fetched in certain spheres. For example, Katisyannis, Yell, and Bradley (2001) observed that more than 1.75 million students with exceptionalities failed to receive educational services, forcing families to seek costly educational services outside of the public sphere. Even when services are received, there seem to be inequities in identification, assessment, categorization, placement, and instruction (Obiakor, 2007). It is no wonder then, that there has been a series of laws, amendments, and reauthorizations enacted, such as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act (IDEIA) of 2004.

In some measure, the IDEIA has reinforced the adequate provision of educational services to students and has continued to ensure procedural safeguards that guarantee meaningful participation in the evaluation process. In addition, this law mandates that teachers of students with exceptionalities be highly qualified, meaning they are certified in the content areas they are teaching and they possess a bachelor's degree. Interestingly, these standards are consistent with the standards of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, a law that promises to make education and service providers accountable at all levels. Other provisions of the IDEIA include changes to the Individualized Education Program (IEP) and due process as they affect students, parents, and schools (Smith, 2005). Even with all these legal mandates and impositions, African American learners continue to experience inadequate and inequitable general and special education services. This is especially evident in

Festus E. Obiakor, Ph.D., is a Professor in the Department of Exceptional Education and a Professor in the Multicultural Specialization of the Ph.D. in Urban Education Program of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He has more than 150 academic publications including books, chapters, articles, commentaries, and poetry. He serves on the editorial boards of many refereed journals and co-Executive Editor of Multicultural Learning and Teaching.

***Floyd D. Beachum** is Associate professor and Bennett Professor of Urban School Leadership in the College of Education at Lehigh University. His research interests include: leadership in urban education, moral and ethical leadership, and social justice issues in K-12 schools. He has authored several articles and is co-editor of* Urban Education for the 21st Century: Research, Issues, and Perspectives co-author of Radicalizing educational leadership: Dimensions of social justice.

***Mateba K. Harris** is a New Leaders for New Schools Administrator and instructional leader for the largest urban school district in Wisconsin. Mateba is currently a Ph. D. candidate in the Urban Education department at the University of Wisconsin. Her specific areas of interest include students with exceptionalities, self-concept, cultural responsiveness, parental self-responsibility and administrative leadership. She has several publications that discuss these topics.*

urban cities like Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In this article, we address phenomenal special education problems in the context of Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS) and prescribe strategies to remedy them.

Background and Context for Special Education

Special education is a necessary component of public education that provides additional, supplementary, and different services to students with exceptionalities. It includes effective methods of specially designed instruction for students who require specific, controlled, monitored, and intensive content (Hockenbury, 1999). Special education provides students with exceptionalities an education that helps them to achieve meaningful outcomes while simultaneously experiencing learning as valued members of general programs and classes (Ford, Davern, & Schnorr, 2001). Clearly, special education involves individualizing instruction with the aim of helping students who have special needs to gain access to the general curriculum (Shealey, Lue, Brooks, & McCray, 2005). Further, it provides services to students who have met the criteria for different disability areas that are set forth by the government. There are processes that must take place before students are classified as students with special needs. Within the MPS context, they include the identification, referral, evaluation, eligibility, placement, and enrollment processes, which are discussed in the following sections.

The Identification Process

Before a student is classified as having a disability, he or she must be identified as having suspected special education needs. Many students attending school in an urban setting are designated as "slow learners" or "learning disabled" at the beginning of their educational careers. They are sorted out of higher level math, science, and other rigorous subjects because of the inaccurate perception that they are incapable of learning at the required level (Howard, 1995). A significant part of this problem is the fact that most teachers are White and female (Kunjufu, 2002). For example, in MPS, approximately 60% of the teachers are White and about 80% of the students come from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds (MPS, 2008). Some of the teachers are simply inexperienced in working with African American students, while others have negative and/or stereotypical views of these students. As a result, expectations of these students are frequently inaccurate, unrealistic, and negative; this leads to misidentification, misassessment, miscategorization, misplacement, and misinstruction or misintervention (Obiakor, 1999, 2007, 2008; Obiakor & Utley, 2004).

General and special education teachers sometimes make "idiosyncratic judgments on students' school and life successes and failures, especially when they come from different cultural, linguistic, and socioeconomic backgrounds" (Obiakor, 2001a, p.20). Some researchers (e.g., Finn, 1982; Oswald, Coutinho, & Best, 2002) believe poverty is an indicator for students being identified in high numbers for special education services. However, Obiakor (1999) noted that poverty is not synonymous with low intelligence, lack of knowledge, or poor academic achievement. The fact remains, however, that African American students who come from poor families often attend schools where teachers and service providers are little or ill-prepared to give students the quality and equitable education that would maximize their potential. To a large measure, teacher beliefs that students are less capable of learning because of their culture, race, language, or socioeconomic status, play heavily into students being misidentified for special education services.

The Referral Process

After students are identified as having special education needs, they are referred for an evaluation. Under IDEIA, referrals include the name of the person making the referral and the rationale behind the referral (Arnold & Lassmann, 2003). Referrals are usually made by the teacher or parent of the student. Even though there may be cultural disconnects between African American students and their teachers, the law mandates that teachers must implement several interventions before initiating a referral (Obiakor, 2007). Oftentimes, interventions teachers use are punitive rather than positive; they may include suspensions, detentions, retention, and referrals to the office. There are a multitude of reasons why teachers refer students for special education. Referrals can be the result of a personality conflict between the teacher and the student, or because the teacher finds it difficult to respond to the cultural and linguistic differences in African American students. More troubling is that some teachers may even see these differences as deficits, and thereby refer students for special education services.

Clearly, many teachers are ill-prepared and unprepared to work with children whose cultural backgrounds are different from their own (McIntosh & Valles, 2007), which leads to a high incidence of referrals for African

American students (Mamlin & Harris, 1998). As a result of this cultural mismatch, African American students tend to be overrepresented in the referral process (Smith & Sapp, 2005). Blanchett et al. (2005) recalled a community meeting that allowed members of the Milwaukee, Wisconsin community to articulate what they believed were the reasons for the high number of referrals for these students. Community members stated that general education is inadequate in meeting the needs of all students, especially those from culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) backgrounds. They also spoke to the issue of the cultural mismatch between teachers and students that results in unwarranted referrals for special education services. Clearly, when students feel that their teachers are unsupportive (Obiakor, 1999) or uncaring (Valenzuela, 2002), they perform poorly in school and begin to doubt their own capabilities, thus edging closer to the self-fulfilling prophecy many of these teachers hold about their students (see Obiakor, 1999).

The Evaluation Process

After the referral is done, there is an evaluation process that must be conducted. The person handling the referral contacts the parent for consent to test the student. The evaluation team usually consists of the local education agency (LEA), a social worker, psychologist, special education teacher, regular education teacher, and the parent. Generally, the assessment is administered by the psychologist and diagnostic teacher. If the referral is for speech and/or language problems, the speech pathologist administers the tests. In addition, information provided by the parent; a review of student records such as suspensions, attendance, and report cards; rating scales from parents and teachers; and observations are components of the evaluation process.

There are a variety of tests used when assessing the student. In MPS, the psychologist administers the intelligence quotient (IQ) tests; the choices of assessment tools include the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC–IV), Stanford-Binet, and the Woodcock Johnson. For younger children between birth to age 5, the psychologist may elect to use the Wechsler Preschool and Primary Scale of Intelligence III since the WISC–V is normed on older children. Although test-makers have endeavored to accommodate diversity, there is still a very strong expectation of linguistic and cultural uniformity in test development, validation, and norming. Rather than measuring what they claim to measure, test items instead measure knowledge of standard forms of the language (Adger, Christian, & Wolfram, 1999). This means that standardized tests contain biases against various groups of students in the test population, resulting in fairly lower scores for those groups (see Adger et al.). Based on this unfortunate reality, many African American students are placed into special education programs, even though the tests have been proven to be culturally, socially, and racially biased, and to reflect White middle class values (Agbenyega & Jiggetts, 1999; Obiakor, 1999).

A critical look at the WISC–IV, the test preferred by most psychologists, unearths some interesting dynamics. This test has four composite scores: verbal comprehension, perceptual reasoning, working memory, and processing speed. The full IQ scale is composed of these four scores. The WISC–IV is standardized on a sample of the U.S. population. Greater than 60% of the sample were White, approximately 13% were African American, roughly 15% were Hispanic, less than 5% were Asian, and below 1% were other. In addition, greater than 27% of the students had parents who graduated from high school, approximately 32% had parents who had some college experience, and approximately 23% had parents who possessed a bachelor's or graduate level degree. Although publishers of this test profess that they used outside professionals to review test items for the possibilities of test biases, they failed to eliminate or modify biased items.

Similarly, an initial look at the Woodcock Johnson, another standardized test based on information from the U.S. census, reveals that the majority of those counted are White, making this test culturally biased as well. For example, the Woodcock Johnson-III (WJ–III) is the main achievement test used by diagnostic teachers in MPS. This assessment tool is used to measure how much the child has learned throughout his or her academic experience. Cultural biases of tests such as the WISC–IV and the WJ–III are not the only problem with using these assessment tools to qualify children for special education services. According to Detterman and Thompson (1997), the tests simply measure IQ and academic achievement, and do not provide prescriptive or descriptive solutions to help educators know what types of educational interventions, services, and instruction students need to work with their exceptionalities. During the 2006–2007 school year, there were a total of 4,166 students referred for special education in MPS. Of that number, just 60 percent of the students evaluated for special education were identified as students with special education needs (MPS, Committee on Special Education School Board Minutes, 2007).

The Eligibility Process

Eligibility must be determined on the basis of observations, rating scales, assessments, and the determination as to whether or not special education is needed for the student to receive a Free and Appropriate Public Education (Lambert, 1988). Students must show deficits in their educational performance to be eligible for special education services. There are 12 disability areas for which the MPS system determines eligibility based on criteria set forth by the government. They are as follows: autism (AUT), cognitive disability (CD), emotional behavioral disability (EBD), hearing impairment (HI), non-categorical (NC), other health impairment (OHI), orthopedic impairment (OI), significant developmental delay (SDD), specific learning disability (SLD), speech and language impairment (SPL), traumatic brain injury (TBI), and visually impaired (VI). In MPS, some exceptionalities (e.g., CD, EBD, SLD, and OHI) are high incidence. While OHI might not reflect high incidence in most school districts, the urbanness of Milwaukee produces malaise and health dilemmas that are intertwined with education.

The Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (2007) defined CD as significantly sub-average intellectual functioning that exists concurrently with deficits in adaptive behavior and adversely affects educational performance. In MPS, during the 2006–2007 school year, 1,351 African American students having previously met eligibility criteria for CD were enrolled in special education as compared to 172 White students. According to the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, EBD means social, emotional, or behavioral functioning that so departs from the generally accepted, age appropriate ethnic or cultural norms that it adversely affects a child's academic progress, social relationships, personal adjustment, classroom adjustment, self-care, or vocational skills. In MPS, during the 2006–2007 school year, 926 African American students were enrolled in special education having previously met eligibility criteria for EBD, as compared to 98 White students. Clearly, CD and EBD are disability areas in which African American students are overrepresented. Researchers (Blanchett et al., 2005; Jordan, 2005; Kunjufu, 2002; Obiakor, 2007; Skiba, Poloni-Staudinger, Gallini, Simmons, & Feggins-Azzizz, 2006; Townsend, 2002) have documented the issue of overrepresentation and found that test biases, cultural mismatches, and low teacher expectations for African American students' success in school are the main drivers of this phenomenon.

As the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction pointed out, SLD means a severe learning problem due to a disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes involved in acquiring, organizing or expressing information that manifests itself in school as an impaired ability to listen, reason, speak, read, write, spell or do mathematical calculations, despite appropriate instruction in the general education curriculum.

In MPS, during the 2006–2007 school year, 2,600 African American students were enrolled in special education as compared to 400 White students. As anticipated, OHI has demonstrated high incidence in MPS as well, due to the poverty and malaise associated with urbanness and urban residents. OHI means having limited strength, vitality or alertness, due to chronic or acute health problems. The term encompasses heart condition, tuberculosis, rheumatic fever, nephritis, asthma, sickle cell anemia, hemophilia, epilepsy, lead poisoning, leukemia, diabetes, and acquired injuries to the brain caused by internal occurrences or degenerative conditions – any of which could adversely affect a child's educational performance (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 2007). In MPS, during the 2006–2007 school year, 3,218 African American students were enrolled in school as students who met criteria for OHI, as compared to 390 White students. The proliferation of students qualifying for special education services under the OHI disability label is primarily due to the fact that many MPS students have been exposed to high levels of lead. In fact, school-aged children who are exposed to high lead levels (indicated by blood levels of 10 or more micrograms per deciliter) before the age of three perform below grade level expectations in achievement tests. In addition, a child diagnosed, either medically or educationally, with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) may also meet criteria under OHI, but only if problems of limited alertness negatively affect his or her educational performance (Reid, Maag, & Vasa, 1993).

The Placement Process

The process of placing students into special education programming often begins with the teacher having the ability to identify appropriate educational placements (Rizza & Morrison, 2003). The least restrictive environment (LRE) mandate of IDEIA states that students with exceptionalities must be educated with non-disabled peers to the *maximum extent appropriate* (Hosp & Reschly, 2003). It is important that educators know how decisions regarding placement impact the daily lives of students, including their social interactions

with peers and the curriculum used to service them. Placement decisions can cause "unrealistic expectations, prejudicial generalizations, illusory conclusions, and deceptive self-aggrandizement" (Obiakor & Ford, 2002, p. 84). There are different forms of placement; they are: *inclusion*, where students are serviced within the general education environment using the general education curriculum; *resource*, where students are pulled out of the regular education environment and serviced outside of that environment, usually in a special education classroom; *self-contained* or most restrictive, where students with moderate to profound needs remain in a special education classroom for the majority of their school day; *alternative*, where students are serviced outside of the general public school; and *institutional*, where services are provided to students in a day or residential treatment center, or the like. In MPS, for the 2006–2007 school year, there were a total of 17,492 students enrolled in special education. Of these 17,492 students, 10,567 were African American as compared to 2,735 Hispanic students and 1,765 White students (see MPS, 2007).

As it stands, deciding placements of students is part of the IEP team meeting. In most cases, students are able to be serviced in the school they are currently attending. However in some cases, it is necessary for the IEP team to seek placements outside of the current school and to look at units within other MPS buildings for the student to receive a free and appropriate public education. While there is not much research that discusses the disproportionate placement of students into most restrictive environments (Skiba et al., 2006), when visiting the EBD units in MPS, the majority of the students were African American males. For this reason, it is important to consider some important placement principles (Obiakor, 2007), as mentioned below:

- Race and culture can matter in the placement of students.
- Placements must be based on needs and not on students' racial or cultural identities.
- Language differences should never be misconstrued as a lack of intelligence.
- Empathy is an important ingredient of good placement.
- Good placements are usually the least restrictive environments.
- Differences are not deficits.
- Students are best served when their due process rights are respected.
- Appropriate inclusion reduces biased exclusion of students in classroom activities.
- Prejudicial placements have devastating effects on students.
- The unique differences students bring to the classroom must be valued. (p. 7)

The Enrollment Process

In MPS during the 2006-2007 school year, there were a total of 51,208 elementary students and 8,873 of the students were students with special needs (see Table 1); there were 9,700 students in middle school, which included 1,896 students with special needs (see Table 2); and 22,917 students in high school, including 4,808 students with special needs (see Table 3) – for a total of 83,825 students during the 2006–07 school year, with 15,577 having special needs. The Tables include students in partnership, non-instrumentality charter, open enrollment, and Chapter 220 schools (i.e., students who are bussed to other school districts as a mechanism for desegregation). From August 31, 2006 through June 13, 2007, there were a total of 4,223 students referred for special education services. Of the 4,049 evaluations completed, 1,735 students did not qualify for any disability area. That gives the district as a whole a 60% identification rate of students with special needs (MPS, Committee on Special Education School Board, 2007). As it stands, there were a total of 17,891 students enrolled in special education programming at the elementary, secondary, partnership, and charter level schools.

Challenges Facing Special Education Teachers and Administrators

Nationally, there is a shortage of special education teachers who are qualified and certified; and burnout

Table 1 - Elementary School Special Education Enrollment

	African American	Asian	Hispanic	Native American	Other	White	Total
AUT	144	5	49	3	35	88	324
CD	519	20	110	3	65	66	783
EBD	307	0	36	1	30	33	407
HI	44	6	29	0	28	12	119
NC	233	17	24	2	20	36	332
OHI	1,815	19	348	13	193	238	2626
OI	56	1	20	0	17	16	110
SDD	309	6	121	6	28	57	527
SLD	871	18	380	24	46	188	1527
SPL	997	54	519	18	147	346	2081
TBI	14	1	3	0	0	1	19
VI	8	0	6	0	2	2	18
Total	5,317	147	1,645	70	611	1,083	8,873

Source: Milwaukee Public Schools (2007). Elementary school special education enrollment. Unpublished raw data..

Table 2- Middle School Special Education Enrollment

	African American	Asian	Hispanic	Native American	Other	White	Total
AUT	29	1	3	0	0	8	41
CD	216	5	45	0	4	22	292
EBD	167	0	15	2	6	14	204
HI	13	1	5	0	0	3	22
NC	11	0	1	0	0	3	15
OHI	510	8	92	1	18	53	682
OI	11	0	2	1	3	3	20
SDD	0	0	5	0	0	0	5
SLD	348	11	128	6	7	50	550
SPL	34	0	11	0	3	6	54
TBI	6	0	1	0	0	0	7
VI	2	0	1	0	0	1	4
Total	1347	26	309	10	41	163	1896

Source: Milwaukee Public Schools (2007). Middle school special education enrollment Unpublished raw data

Table 3 - High School Special Education Enrollment

	African American	Asian	Hispanic	Native American	Other	White	Total
AUT	77	3	9	0	3	29	121
CD	616	13	107	4	9	84	833
EBD	452	2	40	6	9	51	560
HI	373	3	8	0	2	5	55
NC	17	3	5	0	1	1	27
OHI	893	5	117	14	28	99	1156
OI	38	1	16	1	1	14	17
SLD	1381	31	306	10	34	162	1924
SPL	10	1	3	0	1	2	17

Source: Milwaukee Public Schools (2007). High school special education enrollment

appears to be a major cause of the shortage (Kaufhold, Alverez, & Arnold, 2006; Mastroprieri, 2001). Many teachers and service providers complain of not having sufficient resources, supplies, and support from building administration, resulting in the high attrition rate for special education teachers (McLeskey, Tyler, & Flippin, 2004). MPS is experiencing the same problem. For example, one particular elementary school has three most restrictive placement classrooms. Teaching within each unit is a person who is currently part of the Milwaukee Teacher Education Center (MTEC). The MTEC program has two components: Jumpstart and the Apprenticeship. Jumpstart allows participants who hold a bachelor's degree to take one semester of classes prior to entering the classroom; the Apprenticeship places the participants in MPS classrooms as teachers (Milwaukee Teacher Education Center, 2007). These inexperienced teachers are teaching in classrooms of students who have the most severe needs, which seems to contradict the IDEIA requirement that students with special needs have highly qualified teachers. To exacerbate the problem of teacher shortages, the teaching force remains overwhelmingly White, middle class, and English language dominant (Ladson-Billings, 2000). Garcia and Dray (2007) corroborated, "Teachers are unfamiliar with students' culturally based ways of interacting, thinking, and behaving; and are likely to teach from their own cultural frames of reference using methods and approaches that have been validated mainly for students from the mainstream dominant culture" (p. 21).

Further compounding the issues of teacher shortages and cultural mismatches are the instructional strategies teachers are using to teach African American students with special needs. Special education should focus on research-based instructional practices; it should be intense, focused, urgent, precise, structured, and monitored for effectiveness (Heward, 2003). Unfortunately, many special education teachers are not using research-based instructional practices. Many years ago, Smith, Brownell, and McNellis (1994) argued that teachers are not using innovative resources because their voices are silenced in the decisions regarding the curriculum and program development for students with special needs. In the end, teachers must be both properly trained and given the resources they need to maximize students' potential (Kaufhold et al., 2006). One former MPS teacher, when asked if she felt students she serviced were making progress, commented:

> I didn't have the resources to teach the children. I pulled them out for small group and we worked on basic skills together. I would have liked to have been able to teach them what they needed, but I didn't know exactly what that was. I know that some of them had processing difficulties, but I didn't know how to teach the skill to make them process things in a way that was understandable to them. I usually spent my personal money to accommodate for what I didn't receive from administration. If there were workshops about processing and how to teach children with these difficulties, I would have been the first to sign up. (J. Meier, personal communication, June 28, 2007)

This kind of comment is not unusual in MPS. Another former teacher commented on the behavior goals that were written in one of his student's IEPs:

> I was supposed to work on the behavioral goals for 30 minutes one time per day. There was not a specific curriculum that I was working from. I simply looked at what the goals said and tried to comply with them through discussions and monitoring his interactions with his peers. No one ever provided me with a behavior curriculum. Students have behavior intervention plans (BIPs), but that does not mean that their other teachers are going to look at them when they themselves had 30 other students to monitor. (C. S. Brown, personal communication, July 25, 2007)

School leaders and administrators play critical roles in the special education process. These individuals (i.e., superintendents, building principals, assistant principals, special education supervisors, and teacher leaders) have considerable influence over the school organization, especially in the areas of climate, leadership, and budget. The overrepresentation of CLD students, including African American students, in special education is well-documented (Artiles & Trent, 1994; Blanchett et al., 2005; Obiakor, 1999, 2001b, 2007; Obiakor & Utley, 2004; Patton & Townsend, 1997; Serwatka & Deering, 1995). Sometimes there is a cultural disconnect between teachers and administrators and the students they are charged to educate (Beachum & McCray, 2008). For example, many White teachers (and some CLD teachers), may have negative feelings, low expectations, and/or a subtle bias against African American students. The classic work of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) provided a link between student performance and teacher expectations. School leaders and administrators are in a unique position to interrupt this negative cycle.

In many cases, teachers and school leaders enter diverse settings with negative preconceived notions about teaching CLD students and about CLD people. Students in these settings are often "written off" as failures or lost causes. This cultural disconnect and ensuing cultural collision can feed into *disparate perception* (Beachum & McCray, 2004, 2008). Disparate perception is the difference in worldview between many Whites and CLD people (Beachum, Dentith, & McCray, 2004). For instance, many White people may see the United States as a place of true equal opportunity, a system totally based on merit, and where all dreams can come true if one just works hard enough. Though many CLD people may agree with some of this rhetoric, they also acknowledge, based on their personal experiences in the United States, that all is not equal and opportunities are strongly influenced by one's race, class, and ability status (Tatum, 1997). Teachers and school administrators must be willing to question their deeply held beliefs and challenge personal foundational assumptions (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). The reality is that many students in MPS come from different economic, social, and cultural backgrounds. These differences are not deficits; to the contrary, they are to be affirmed and respected as much as possible in the teaching, learning, and leading processes.

Earlier, Delpit (1992) noted that teacher preparation programs expose student teachers and future leaders to an education based on name calling and labeling to conceal their flaws. When African American learners behave, look, learn, and speak differently than their teacher or other Euro-American students, teachers assume something is wrong with them, often with the support of their school administrators (Obiakor, 2001a). Furthermore, when college professors fail to provide balanced perspectives in teacher preparation programs, they too indiscriminately encourage teachers and school leaders to develop attitudes and perceptions that prevent CLD learners (e.g., African American learners) from receiving a quality education (Dantley, 2005; Dooley & Voltz, 1999). Teachers and administrators must be educated about using culturally relevant practices that meet the learning needs of a wide range of students (Delpit, 1992; Obiakor, Beachum, Williams, & McCray, 2006).

False presumptions and discriminatory practices are many times at the heart of academic achievement problems facing African American learners (Ford &

Harris, 1994; Kailin, 2002; Kunjufu, 2002; Tatum, 1997). Such practices have proven to be detrimental to the quality of education these learners receive. As Grossman (1991) noted:

> Those who believe there are ethnic and class differences in intelligence find it understandable that some groups are disproportionately placed in classes for the retarded and that Euro-American middle-class students are more likely to be assigned to courses of study (tracks) for 'high potential' students in which teachers stress independent study and higher level cognitive skills. At the same time, Hispanic, Native American, African American, and working-class students are over represented in tracks for 'low potential' students in which teachers stress instructional techniques that involve concrete, repetitive drill and practice. (p. 20)

School leaders are essential in the identification of students for special education. They can ensure that African American students are not being placed in special education because of teacher convenience or apathy. Goor (1995) concluded that "collaborative principals who promote educational excellence take an active approach in the process in which teachers request help with students before referring for special education evaluation" (pp. 137–138). As Obiakor et al. (2006) reiterated,

> They must continuously attend in-service trainings on strategies to work with multicultural students, especially those with special needs. They also must empower and encourage teachers to try different techniques to maximize student achievement and minimize student placement in special education programs. In essence, school administrators and teachers must work collaboratively to address the educational needs of multicultural students prior to placement in special education as well as those students currently placed to ensure the quality of service provided. (p. 28)

Clearly, to be effective in addressing the educational needs of African American students, especially those with special needs, school administrators must encourage and implement progressive teacher practices in their schools. Effective leaders create cultures of success and encourage teachers to be effective. More than a decade ago, Grant and Gomez (1995) concluded that effective teachers and leaders must (a) have high expectations for their students and believe all students are capable of academic success; (b) communicate clearly, pace lessons appropriately, involve students in decisions, monitor students' progress, and provide frequent feedback; (c) use culturally relevant teaching approaches that integrate students' native language and dialect, culture, and community into classroom activities to make input more relevant and comprehensible; and (d) use curricula in teaching strategies that promote coherence, relevance, progression, and continuity. No doubt, implementation of effective strategies and best practices will lead to more positive academic outcomes for African American students, especially those with special needs.

A Deeper Look at Special Education for African American Students

Traditionally, special education is defined as specially designed instruction for students with exceptionalities (Hockenbury, 1999). Additionally, it is an education designed to help these students to access the general curriculum (Ford, et al., 2001; Shealey et al., 2005). The evolution of the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 (EHA) into the 2004 IDEIA has been instrumental in ensuring that all students, including African Americans, are not misidentified, misassessed, miscategorized, misplaced, and misinstructed. The major focus of providing students with a Free and Appropriate Public Education in the LRE (least restricted environment) offers some improvement in the lives of African American students who live and function with exceptionalities (Andrews et al., 2000). However, the haunting question is: Is special education doing what it is supposed to do for African American students?

Special education is a service to students who have met special education criteria and are in need. This does not necessarily mean that this service is to continue for the remainder of their academic careers. In MPS from 2006 to 2007, there were a total of 4,016 reevaluations held to determine if a child who had initially met criteria for a disability area or areas continues to meet criteria (MPS, Committee on Special Education School Board Minutes, 2007). The number of students continuing to meet eligibility criteria for special education services gives the district an 80% identification rate for reevaluations. In essence, when children meet criteria in MPS and demonstrate a need for special education services, the chances that they will always have this need are high. The implication is that when African Americans are misidentified as having a disability, they apparently do not recover, as they become trapped in a cycle of labels and failures. MPS will [aspires to?]achieve the

goals of special education by employing educators with high expectations for students regardless of their abilities, race, culture, or language differences. Obiakor (2007) concluded that special education will work well when:

- It is connected to a free and appropriate public education for all learners, including those from multicultural backgrounds.
- Multicultural learners are not misidentified.
- Multicultural learners are not discriminately assessed.
- Multicultural learners are afforded procedural safeguards, including due process procedures.
- Parents of multicultural learners are empowered and treated as equal partners.
- Confidentiality of information is maintained for multicultural learners.
- Multicultural learners are educated in least restrictive environments.
- Individualized education programs (IEPs) are based on (a) multicultural learners' needs, (b) the collaboration and consultation of team members, and (c) culturally responsive strategies.
- Accountability does not discriminate against multicultural learners.
- It is not connected to illusory conclusions and prejudicial expectations that demean multicultural learners. (pp.12–13)

Our argument is that the goals of special education for African American students can be met, but, except in rare instances, they can be met only if teachers and school administrators have sufficient resources including instructional materials, support for educational leaders, and professional development trainings that focus on cultural competence. Earlier, Boykin (1994) suggested powerful interrelated dimensions of African American culture that can be used for interaction and effective instruction for students, namely: (a) spirituality, (b) harmony, (c) movement, (d) verve, (e) affect, (f) communalism, (g) expressive individualism, (h) oral tradition, and (i) social time perspective. On the one hand, appropriate trainings may bring about instructional techniques and practices that are meaningful to African American students and indeed reduce the number referred for special education services. On the other hand, no group of people can survive without looking at the "enemy-within." The African American community cannot continue to wait for redemption by external entities. Parents, community leaders, program organizers, and church leaders must collaborate, consult, and cooperate with each other to save African American students (Ford, 1995; Prater & Terrel, 2007). These students deserve to be educated. As a result, they must be helped to develop resiliency at both school and community levels, and their parents must involve and empower themselves in school and community advocacies.

Proactive measures and efforts must be made to help African American students to stop self-destructive personal tendencies that have ramifications for special education. The problems of "babies" having babies, drug dealing and abuse, sexual transmission of diseases, and killings must be eliminated to create positive awareness for individual and collective growth (Obiakor, Mehring, & Schwenn, 1997). In some strange fashion, some African Americans further this cyclical malaise when they fail to acknowledge or do something about self-destructive tendencies. Additionally, some African American parents abet misidentification in special education when they push forward the idea that their children have "special education" problems in order to get money from the government. It is time that community leaders begin to truly look at the heart of special education-related problems rather than the politics of problems (Obiakor & Beachum, 2005). Many African American children are left behind when laws such as the No Child Left Behind Act go unchallenged with concrete facts. Resources must be provided in educational planning and implementation; and evaluations of programs must be diagnostic, formative, and summative. Clearly, a one-dimensional approach will not work. A comprehensive support model that values the contributions of individuals, families, schools, communities, and government agencies must be instituted to maximize the fullest potential of African American students in general and special education (Obiakor, 2001b, 2007; Obiakor & Ford, 2002; Obiakor, Grant, & Dooley, 2002).

Conclusion

In this article, we have defined and described special education, discussed its processes, and elaborated on the implications for students, teachers, school leaders, and community stakeholders in MPS. We remain hopeful that special education has the potential to help many African American students with special needs to learn effectively and live fuller, more satisfying lives. At the same time, this is largely dependent upon educators, administrators, community leaders, and politicians' willingness to avoid stereotypical notions about the capabilities of African American students. Their deliberate efforts could enhance effective special education endeavors and reduce the trapping of more students in cycles of failure. In MPS, the goal must be to make special education "special," and develop strong, broad-based public and private supports for children and youth. It is time we stop stigmatizing our children and youth and start creating innovative educational services that value their strengths and diversities. If it takes a village to raise a child, then we need a city to save a school system like MPS.

References

Agbenyega, S., & Jiggetts, J. (1999). Minority children and their over-representation in special education. *Education, 119*(4), 619–632.

Adger, C. T., Christian, D., Wolfram, W. (1999). *Dialects in schools and communities*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erbaum.

Andrews, J. E., Carnine, D. W., Coutinho, M. J., Edgar, E. B., Forness, S. R., Fuchs, L. S., Jordan, D., Kauffman, J. M., Patton, J. M., Paul, J., Rosell, J., Rueda, R., Schiller, E., Skrtic, T. M., & Wong, J. (2000). Bridging the special education divide. *Remedial and Special Education, 21*(5), 258–263.

Arnold, M., & Lassmann, M. E. (2003). Overrepresentation of minority students in special education. *Education, 124*(2), 230–240.

Artiles, A. J., & Trent, S. C. (1994). Over representation of minority students in special education: A continuing debate. *Journal of Special Education, 27*(4), 410–428.

Beachum, F. D., Dentith, A. M., & McCray, C. R. (2004). Administrators' and teachers' work in a new age of reform: Understanding the factors in African American student success.*E-Journal of Teaching and Learning in Diverse Settings*, *2*(1). Available:http://www.subr.edu/coeducation/ejournal/EJTSLDS%20Volume%202%20Issue%20 1Beachum%20et%20al.pdf.

Beachum, F. D., & McCray, C. R. (2004). Cultural collision in urban schools. *Current Issues in Education, 7*(5). Available: http://cie.asu.edu/volume7/number5/.

Beachum, F. D., & McCray, C. R. (2008). Dealing with cultural collision: What pre-service educators should know. In G. Goodman (Ed.), *Educational psychology: An application of critical constructivism* (pp. 53–70). New York: Peter Lang.

Blanchett, W. J., Mumford, V., & Beachum, F. (2005). Urban school failure and disproportionality in a post-Brown era: Benign neglect of the constitutional rights of students of color. *Remedial and Special Education, 26*(2), 70–82.

Boykin, A. W. (1994). Harvesting culture and talent: African American children and educational reform. In R. Rossi (Ed.), *Schools and students at risk: Context and framework for positive change* (pp. 116–138). New York: Teachers College Press.

Dantley, M. (2005). African American spirituality and Cornel West's notions of prophetic pragmatism: Restructuring educational leadership in American urban schools. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 41*(4), 651–674.

Delpit, L. D. (1992). Education in a multicultural society: Our future's greatest challenge. *Journal of Negro Education, 61*(3), 237–249.

Detterman, D. K., & Thompson, L. A. (1997). What is so special about special education? *American Psychologist, 52*(10), 1082–1091.

Dooley, E. A., & Voltz, D. L. (1999). Educating the African American exceptional learner. In F. E. Obiakor, J. O. Schwenn, & A. F. Rotatori (Eds.), *Advances in special education: Multicultural education for learners with exceptionalities* (pp. 15–33). Stamford, CT: JAI Press.

Finn, J. D. (1982). Patterns in special education placement as revealed by the OCR survey. In K. A. Heller, W. H. Holtzman, & S. Messick (Eds.), *Placing children in special education: A strategy for equity* (pp. 322–381). Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences National Academy Press.

Ford, A., Davern, L., & Schnorr, R. (2001). Learners with significant exceptionalities. *Remedial and Special Education, 22*(4), 214–225.

Ford, B. A. (1995). African American community involvement processes and special education: Essential networks for effective education. In B. A. Ford, F. E. Obiakor, & J. M. Patton (Eds.), *Effective education of African American exceptional learners: New perspectives* (pp. 235–272). Austin, TX: Pro-Ed.

Ford, D. Y., & Harris, J. J. (1994). Promoting achievement among gifted black students. *Urban Education, 29*(2), 202–230.

Garcia, S. B., & Dray, B. J. (2007). Bilingualism and special education. In F. E. Obiakor (Eds.), *Multicultural special education: Culturally responsive teaching* (pp. 18–33). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Pearson.

Goor, M. B. (1995). *Leadership for special education administration: A case-based approach*. New York: Harcourt Brace.

Grant, C. A., & Gomez, M. L. (1995). *Making schooling multicultural: Campus and classroom*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Grossman, H. (1991). Special education in a diverse society. *Preventing School Failure, 36*(1), 19–28.

Heward, W. L. (2003). Ten faulty notions about teaching and learning that hinder the effectiveness of special education. *Journal of Special Education, 36*(4), 186–194.

Hockenbury, D. P. (1999). What is right about special education. *Exceptionality, 8*(1), 6–14.

Hosp, J. L., & Reschly, D. J. (2003). Referral rates for intervention or assessment: A meta-analysis of racial differences. *Journal of Special Education, 37*(2), 67–89.

Howard, J. (1995). You can't get there from here: The need for a new logic in education reform. *Daedalus, 124*(4), 85–87.

Huefner, D. X. (2000). The risks and opportunities of the IEP requirements under IDEA '97. Journal *of Special Education, 33*(4), 195.

Jordan, K. (2005). Discourses of difference and the overrepresentation of black students in special education. *The Journal of African American History, 90*(1–2), 128–140.

Kailin, J. (2002). *Antiracist education: From theory to practice*. New York: Rowan & Littlefield.

Katsiyannis, A., Yell, M. L., & Bradley, R. (2001). Reflections of the 25th anniversary of the individuals with exceptionalities education act. *Remedial and Special Education, 22*(6), 324–339.

Kaufhold, J. A., Alverez, V. G., & Arnold, M. (2006). Lack of school supplies, materials, and resources as an elementary cause of frustration and burnout in south Texas special education teachers. *Instructional Psychology, 33*(3), 159–160.

Kunjufu, J. (2002). *Black students, middle class teachers*. Chicago, IL: African American Images.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2000). Fighting for our lives. *Journal of Teacher Education, 51*(3), 206–214.

Lambert, N. M. (1988). Perspectives on eligibility for placement in special education programs. *Exceptional Children, 54*(4), 297–311.

Mamlin, N., & Harris, K. R. (1998). Elementary teachers' referral to special education in light of inclusion and pre-referral: "Every child is here to learn … but some of these children are in real trouble." *Journal of Educational Psychology, 90*(3), 385–397.

Mastroprieri, M. A. (2001). Is the glass half full or half empty? Challenges encountered by first year special education teachers. *Journal of Special Education, 35*(2), 66–71.

McIntosh, A. S., & E. C. Valles. (2007). Teacher preparation and multicultural special education. In F. E. Obiakor (Ed.) *Multicultural special education: Culturally responsive teaching* (pp. 262–271 Columbus, OH: Merrill Prentice Hall.

McLeskey, J., Tyler, N. C., & Flippin, S. S. (2004). The supply and demand for special education teachers: A review ofresearch regarding the chronic shortage of special education teachers. *Special Education, 38*(1), 5–16.

Milwaukee Public Schools (2007). *Committee on Special Education School Board Minutes*. Milwaukee, WI: Author.

Milwaukee Public Schools (2007). *Elementary school special education enrollment*. Unpublished raw data.

Milwaukee Public Schools (2007). *High school special education enrollment*. Unpublished raw data.

Milwaukee Public Schools (2007). *Middle school special education enrollment*. Unpublished raw data.

Milwaukee Public Schools (2007). Available: http://www.milwaukee.k12.wi.us/portal.

Milwaukee Public Schools (2008). Available: http://www.milwaukee.k12.wi.us/portal.

Milwaukee Teacher Education Center (2007). Available: http://www.mteconline.org/certification.htm.

Obiakor, F. E. (1999). Teacher expectations of minority exceptional learners: Impact on accuracy of self-concepts. *Exceptional Children, 66*(1), 39–53.

Obiakor, F. E. (2001a). *It even happens in "good" schools: Responding to cultural diversity in today's classrooms*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Obiakor, F. E. (2001b). Multicultural education: Powerful tool for preparing future general and special educators. *Teacher Education and Special Education, 24*(3), 241–255.

Obiakor, F. E. (2007). *Multicultural special education: Culturally responsive teaching*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Obiakor, F. E. (2008). *The eight-step approach to multicultural learning and teaching* (3rd ed.). Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.

Obiakor, F. E., & Beachum, F. D. (2005). *Urban education for the 21st century: Research, issues, and perspectives*: Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Obiakor, F. E., Beachum, F. D., Williams, D. L., & McCray, C. R. (2006). Building successful multicultural special education programs through innovative leadership. *Educational Considerations, 34*(1), 27–31.

Obiakor, F. E., & Ford, B. A. (2002). *Creating successful learning environments for African American learners with exceptionalities*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Obiakor, F. E., Grant, P. A., & Dooley, E. A. (2002). *Educating all learners: Refocusing the comprehensive support model*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Obiakor, F. E., Harris-Obiakor, P., Garza-Nelson, C., & Randall, P. (2005). Educating urban learners with and without special needs: Life after the *Brown* Case. In F. E. Obiakor & F. D. Beachum (Eds.), *Urban education for the 21st century: Research, issues, and perspectives* (pp.20–33). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Obiakor, F. E., Mehring, T. A., & Schwenn, J. O. (1997). *Disruption, disaster, and death: Helping students deal with crises*. Reston, VA: The Council for Exceptional Children.

Obiakor, F. E., & Utley, C. A. (2004). Educating culturally diverse learners with exceptionalities: A critical analysis of the *Brown* case. *Peabody Journal of Education, 79*(2), 141–156.

Oswald, D., Coutinho, M. J., & Best, A. M. (2002). Community and school predictors of overrepresentation of minority children in special education. In D. J. Losen & G. Orfield (Eds.), *Racial inequity in special education* (pp. 1–13). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Civil Rights Project.

Patton, J. M., & Townsend, B. L. (1997). Creating inclusive environments for African American children and youth with gifts and talents. *Roeper Review, 20*(1), 13–15.

Prater, L. P., & Terrell, S. R. (2007). Family empowerment and multicultural special education. In F. E. Obiakor (Ed.), *Multicultural special education: Culturally responsive teaching* (pp. 224–233). Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Reid, R., Maag, J. W., & Vasa, S. F. (1993). Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder: A critique. *Exceptional Children, 60*(3), 198–208.

Rizza, M. G., & Morrison, W. F. (2003). Uncovering stereotypes and identifying characteristics of gifted students and students with emotional/behavioral exceptionalities. *Roeper Review, 25*(2), 73–80.

Rosenthal, R., & Jacobson, L. (1968). *Pygmalion in the classroom: Teachers expectation and pupils' intellectual development*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Serwatka, T. S., & Deering, S. (1995). Disproportionate representation of African Americans in emotionally handicapped classes. *Journal of Black Studies, 25*(4), 492.

Shealey, M. W., Lue, M. S., Brooks, M., & McCray, E. (2005). Examining the legacy of *Brown*: The impact on special education and teacher practice. *Remedial and Special Education, 26*(2), 113–121.

Skiba, R. J., Poloni-Staudinger, L., Gallini, S., Simmons, A. B., & Feggins-Azziz, R. (2006). Disparate access: The disproportionality of African American students with exceptionalities across educational environments. *Exceptional Children, 72*(4), 411–426.

Smith, R., & Sapp, M. (2005). Insights into educational psychology: What urban school practitioners must know. In F. E. Obiakor & F. D. Beachum (Eds.), *Urban education for the 21st century: Research, issues, and perspectives* (pp. 100–113). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Smith, S. W., Brownell, M. T., & McNellis, J. (1994). Reflections on career decisions in special education: Current and former teachers' personal views. *Exceptionality, 5*(2), 109–112.

Smith, T. E. (2005). IDEA 2004: Another round in the reauthorization process. *Remedial and Special Education, 26*(6), 314–323.

Tatum, B. D. (1997). *Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria? And other conversations about race*. New York: Basic Books.

Townsend, B. L. (2002). "Testing while black": Standards-based school reform and African American learners. *Remedial and Special Education, 23*(4), 222–228.

Valdoza State University (2007). Available: http:teach.valdosta.edu/pwolftei/Woodcock%Johnson%20III.pdf.

Valenzuela, A. (2002). Reflections of the subtractive underpinnings of education research and policy. *Journal of Teacher Education, 53*(3), 235–242.

Villegas, A. M., & Lucas, T. (2002). *Educating culturally responsive teachers: A coherent approach*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (2007). Available:http://www.dpilstate.wi.us/sped/cd/sped/cd.html

Passing On: The Old Head/Younger Dancer Mentoring Relationship in the Cultural Shpere of Rhythm Tap

DONNA-MARIE PETERS — TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

Abstract

This article examines the effectiveness of the traditional "old head" /young person mentoring relationship reported to be disappearing as a cultural tradition in center-city Black communities by a number of historians and social scientists. This study, based on ethnographic field work, describes an example of highly successful mentoring in the rhythm tap community, framing it within the role traditionally played by mentoring in the African-American community generally and within the broader history of tap dance that brought the mentoring process about. It has examined the key role played by elder tap dancers in passing on the history, steps, and survival values associated with rhythm tap, the benefits of mentoring to the mentors and to the younger dancers mentored, and the ways in which the hard work ethic, cooperative, and creation-friendly values associated with tap as a performance became generalized to an artistic social community and lifestyle.

Entering the dark warm room with cool, soft lighting, my senses are greeted with the comforting sound of traditional jazz. All eyes are focused on a small stage of moving bodies and seated musicians improvising jazz standards from the 1940's. The patrons are both seated and standing at a bar to the right. Glossy Hollywood publicity shots of stars line one side of a wall and posters of famous jazz singers and musicians line the other. A white baby grand piano lends elegance to the dark makeshift room reminiscent of the Latin Quarters of Paris in the 1950s. I look around the long, small, dark basement room at the international coterie of tap dancers from the United States, France, Austria and Japan. Drinking, chatting, eating, and eagerly awaiting the show to begin, each person pays close attention to the door hoping for a surprise visit from a tap celebrity. The performing dancers are seated in a section to the right of the stage while others join their friends at the bar or at tables close to the stage.

Introduction

My first visit to the underground tap scene was the result of an invitation from a friend who had recently returned to tap dancing after giving it up for many years. When she invited me to watch her perform at La Cave, my understanding of tap and the world of tap dancers was very limited. I understood through dance school that tap was for fun and ballet for grace and posture. Out of friendship and slight curiosity, one Wednesday evening after classes, I tagged along with her to La Cave to watch her dance.

I first visited La Cave at a time when by word of mouth tap dancers were beginning to come there as a community of regulars. By attending, I didn't foresee anything beyond witnessing a friend satisfy her passion for tap. It wasn't long before I realized the cultural importance of the underground oral history unfolding before my eyes and documented this epiphany in my journal. "Now is an important time in the evolution of rhythm tap dancing because elderly tap "masters" are urgently passing the rules of the art to a generation of young practitioners. Young African American males are performing an exciting new style of hip-hop tap

***Donna-Marie Peters** is currently a Lecturer in the department of sociology at Temple University She received her Ph.D. from the New School for Social Research in New York City. As a cultural sociologist, Donna-Marie continues to be engaged in a life-long pursuit of aspects of aging, art, and culture that form the fabric of a socety*

that is bold, raw, rapid, and eloquent—influencing the performance art style of a new generation. It is important that this cultural process of the "old head/" younger dancer mentoring relationship be recorded as this once dying art form experiences a re-emergence into the market place of mainstream entertainment. Its documentation has to take place now before the few remaining traditional "old heads" retire from the stage or pass away."

Following up on my initial enthusiasm, I conducted ethnographic field work in the tap dance community in New York City from 1992-2001. During this period of my investigation, the next generation of tap leaders went through a process of socialization important to understanding their drive and commitment to a performing art form that hangs precariously at the fringe of the mainstream performing arts scene today. I completed in-depth interviews with members of the tap community at La Cave from 1992–1994 and performed in-depth interviews of the tap community at "Swing 46" and "On Tap" from 1999–2001. The text below relates the insights I gained as the result of my investigations.

Overview

This article is a case study which examines the mentoring relationship between tap dance elder teachers ("old heads") and their young male students in the African American community. It provides context for this analysis in two ways: by discussing the role of mentoring in the Black community generally, to provide the larger theoretical picture within which this case study can be understood; and by sketching a brief history of tap dance as an art form in America, in order to show why elder tap dancers felt impelled to establish themselves as mentors. It affirms the importance of supportive mentor-mentee relationships to ensure the survival of rhythm tap dance and the development of strong intergenerational bonds among its participants. It discusses the benefits of mentor-mentee relationships to both parties. It describes how the values imparted become present day guiding values not only for tap as performance, but also for a lifestyle and a social world in which tap is the focus.

Informal Mentoring: Studies of the Traditional "Old Head"/Young Person Relationship

Over the past sixty years, a number of scholars have emphasized the importance of informal mentoring relationships that exist or have existed in Black America. In two of his highly respected studies of Black life, *Streetwise* and *Code of the Street*, Elijah Anderson (1990, 2000) referred to this Black community socio-cultural institution as the "old head"/young boy and girl relationship. He described this relationship as an exacting kind of socialization, social control, and fictive kinship that he found in urban Black America. Building on his work in *A Place on the Corner* (2003), Professor Anderson rejected previously held simplistic notions of "social disorganization" and explored instead the social order that the lower classes make for themselves. He pointed out that the traditional role of the "old head" (similar to a "race man" in Drake and Cayton's classic 1945 study, *Black Metropolis*) was as a surrogate father, an agent of the wider society, a mentor, and a role model. Describing that role, Anderson explained that the "old head's "functions were "to teach, support, encourage, and in effect socialize young men to meet their responsibilities regarding work, family, the law, and common decency". In response to queries about gender, Anderson added that there were not only male "old heads" but there were also female counterparts in that fictive kinship institution: Mama, Mom, Miss Dawson (1990). While Anderson placed emphasis on such relationships among men, Carol Stack in *All Our Kin* (1974) emphasized the supportive networks that she found among low income women.

During this same period, in *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom* (1976) Gutman traced the "old head" young boy or girl mentoring relationship back to the era of slavery. Discovering the importance of fictive kinship among the American slaves, he argues that the seed of community building for the slave culture was fictive kinship.

And similarly in "The Negro Artisan" (1902) W.E. B. Du Bois suggested that the key role of those artisans in passing on the craft and values originated in the distinct role of the skilled slaves, for instance millwrights on plantations. However, other scholars note that such mentoring was not limited to skilled working-men. In her study, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women from the Old South* (1988), Elizabeth Fox-Genovese suggests that in the household plantation economy, slave women skilled in domestic crafts socialized the younger slave women, passing on values of work and community to the next generation. Tera Hunter's treatment of the sisterhoods that developed (especially among washer women) during Reconstruction emphasized labor, political and community resistance, and therefore the networks that she chose to analyze were shrouded in secrecy. By the

end of slavery, the black community emerged with the emancipated working folk developing autonomous institutions of kinship and social control (Du Bois 1902, Hunter 1997). When work and residence separated during early industrialization, the working class community emerged (Katznelson, 1981). This newly developed working class community created its own institutions for social control. Sociologists, St. Claire Drake and Horace Cayton in their seminal publication *Black Metropolis* (1945) identified the "race man" of the 1930s and 1940s as an instrument of social control in the institution of Black community. In the Civil Rights movement, mentors such as Martin Luther King produced the next generation of Civil Rights leadership such as Andrew Young, Jessie Jackson, Dorothy Cotton, and Josea Williams. In areas of specific knowledge such as the crafts, the arts, and disciplines that are taught outside the academy and specialized institutions there exists a master/ apprentice relationship that is modeled on the guild system. A particularly illustrative example of this is the prevalence of the old head / young musician mentoring relationship among jazz musicians that has existed throughout the history of jazz music in America. As mentors, musicians pass down the knowledge outside the cities where they live and in both formal and informal settings. Despite their touring schedules and numerous obligations, a significant number of the old head/young person mentoring relationships have endured throughout a musician's career.

The studies referred to above document the historical importance of the "old head" and young boy or girl relationship as a mechanism of social support and as an instrument of mainstream socialization for young men and women. However, according to Elijah Anderson (1999, 2000) and others, this mentoring relationship is disappearing as a cultural tradition in inner-city Black communities. Although noted scholars have elucidated its decline on the neighborhood level, this study identifies its continued vitality outside the boundaries of the residential community and in the alternative sphere of culture and sheds light on the continued importance of African American oral tradition as it is expressed in the mentoring relationship.

The Rise, Fall and Rise of Tap Dance: A Brief History

Traditional tap, an indigenous American art form, had a complicated early history rooted in slavery and developed out of the syncopated rhythms of African music mixed with Irish step dancing. It grew further during minstrelsy and vaudeville. Its key early evolutional moment came when John Bubbles, hailed as the father of "Rhythm Tap," added rhythmic complexity to tap. This genre of tap achieved great popularity from the 1930s through the end of World War II. During this era, tap dancing accompanied many big band performances and nightclubs, and received widespread attention in feature films. By the mid 1950s, work began drying up for the majority of tap dancers. Vaudeville was dead. Many were unable to keep up with the new crowded rhythms of bebop that took the place of big band music. Big budget movie musicals were no longer being filmed and television began to concentrate on ballet and modern dance, giving exposure to only a few tap "flash acts". On Broadway, there was a new demand for modern dance and ballet-inspired musicals. As a result of new cabaret laws, nightclub owners cut variety and dance acts in favor of small bands and comedians. Rock music had begun to dominate mainstream entertainment. By the early 1960's, tap was on the brink of extinction. Though the musical as a film genre continued to languish, the fortunes of tap began to revive in on the stage with the success of two 1970s Broadway musicals: "The Boyfriend" and "No, No, Nanette." By the 1980s, New York City theatre audiences had a new appreciation for tap, which stemmed from the entrance into mainstream musicals of such outstanding rhythm tap performers as Gregory Hines, Honi Coles, and Savion Glover. Hence, demand slowly increased for this style of tap. Gregory Hines appeared in "Eubie" and "Sophisticated Ladies" in the early 1980s. The late Honi Coles, featured in the popular Broadway musical, "My One and Only," received both the Tony and Drama Desk Theater awards in the mid-1980s. The child tap prodigy, Savion Glover, starred on Broadway in "The Tap Dance Kid," also produced in the mid-1980s. The last tap show of the decade was the 1989 jazz tap revue "Black and Blue." Impressive as the roster of rhythm tap Broadway musicals in the 1980s was, they provided work for only a handful of the tap performers who had been active during tap's heyday. As some of these performers passed away, the prospects for tap dance in the 1990s became more uncertain. Though additional Broadway exposure continued rhythm tap's resurgence on stage, its only real presence in the mainstream American entertainment industry of the 1990s was through the Broadway and film presence of Gregory Hines and the Broadway and children's television presence of Savion Glover. In 1993, Gregory Hines and Savion

Glover gave Broadway audiences a brief glimpse of rhythm tap in their tap duet in "Jelly's Last Jam"—the highlight of the show.

The dramatically changing fortunes of tap dance are reflected in its rise, fall, and partial rise. It is in the context of the limited revival of tap in the 1980s and early-to-mid 1990s, combined with the deaths, declining health and retirement of many older tap professionals, that the urgency felt by the "old heads" to pass on tap dance and its accompanying values must be understood. These men felt that the long-term survival of rhythm tap as a dance form depended on them. The development of viable mentor-mentee relationships made it possible to reach this goal. The ability to reconfigure values, retaining older values that worked, such as the emphasis on diligence, discipline, and practice, and adding to them newer values, such as friendly instead of fierce competition and the creation of a nurturing, egalitarian atmosphere, were also crucial to the success of their mission. By the time Savion Glover starred in the pioneering hip-hop- inflected Broadway musical in 1996, these "old heads," working in the early 1990s, already were well underway in their project of developing a new generation of rhythm tap dancers.

The "Old" Head/Younger Dancer Mentoring Relationship in Rhythm Tap at La Cave

The mentoring relationship of "old heads" and younger dancers is most evident in the social interactions of tap dancers in their alternative performance spaces at restaurant bars in the New York City area. This case study focuses on the social interactions that unfolded at La Cave, an alternative performance space on Manhattan's Upper East Side from 1992–1994, where an epicenter of rhythm tap was born. In this setting, rhythm tap was linked to the youth culture of hip-hop and the music genres of rap and pop. The mentoring tradition gave the younger dancers access to uniquely talented, experienced performers who could teach them improvisational and performing techniques that were not available in the mainstream tap classes and workshops. Discussing his work with the young fledgling dancers at La Cave, Jimmy Slyde often stressed the importance of knowing the fundamentals of performing. These included how to present oneself in front of an audience, how to use a microphone, and how to keep time by executing a time step for eight measures, which Slyde would often ask the younger dancers to do when they were onstage. Slyde dubbed La Cave the "University of La Cave" to emphasize its role as a center of learning applied skills that would prepare fledgling performers for careers in tap. These younger dancers then had the space to practice the art of improvisation and to develop their own techniques. This availability of space was key, since constant practice, repetition, and opportunities for trial and error were necessary for their artistic development. The older hoofers also had the opportunity to perform rhythms developed over their lifelong careers and to seek new heights of expression. Watching the "old heads" at work gave the aspiring dancers ways to learn the myriad possibilities of creating on the spot, which is an aspect of the art of improvisation. As a setting for the nurturance of tap dance creativity, the "University of La Cave" was unsurpassed. Since La Cave had performance space, not just rehearsal and instruction space, it could host jam sessions that provided mentees with the chance to dance in front of an audience. These events typically took place on Wednesday evenings, when two shows were presented. In this intimate space, an eager audience of other hoofers, tap aficionados, jazz buffs, family members, friends, and the occasional tourist or neighborhood resident gathered to watch the captivating performances onstage. The elder hoofers would compliment and encourage the novices between and after shows and suggest to them what they needed to work on.

Strong Intergenerational Bonds

Strong intergenerational bonds developed between "old heads"/younger dancers in the course of this mentoring process. The passion and commitment brought to rhythm tap by the old heads was a powerful motivator to their mentees. By continuing to dance in old age, the mentors believed that they provided younger dancers with positive role models, demonstrating ways to pursue the art of tap. For their part, the younger dancers had a deep reverence for age – for it is believed that it takes a lifetime of experience to have something to say as an artist. This aspiring generation appreciated the unique opportunity that they had to perform with men belonging to the generation that developed the jazz foundation of the tap art form. Reverence for the old heads came, then, not only from recognition of their lifelong accomplishments as dancers, but also from the inspiration they provided as a result of their dedication to mentoring, their work ethic, and their deeply-felt friendship with the younger dancers. The younger dancers looked upon the elder masters as role models to be emulated and given the utmost adulation. One important outcome of the strong intergenerational bonds formed between the

old heads and the younger dancers is that these bonds enabled the old heads to accept the younger generation's new style and new voice in tap. The old heads were able to embrace the hip-hop evolution in music and culture associated with the sound, rhythm, and dress style of its leading tap innovator, Savion Glover, and others. They understood that their mentees were spirited youth doing a rebellious form of tap that was loud, hard hitting, and rhythmically fast. They accepted the fact that this next generation wanted to distance themselves from the associations of tap with minstrelsy and the grinning tap dancer that the young found humiliating. The young dancers, on the other hand, did not intend their new style, which foregrounded masculine expressiveness, to "slay the father" – to radically break with *all* tradition. They only wanted to depart from what they thought were its negative aspects. Thus, this younger generation, while improvising, often executed signature steps of older tap dancers in addition to steps taught by now-deceased African-American hoofers as a way of paying homage to their predecessors. In so doing, they symbolically communicated their recognition of the fact that this shared music-dance-art form known as tap wouldn't be possible if not for the tap masters who handed down the tradition. Intergenerational bonds were strengthened by the merging of generations onstage and by the feeling of shared identity as tap artists that resulted from old heads/younger dancers forming a community of like others.

Benefits of Mentoring for Mentors and Mentees

The elder tap dancer mentors gained immense gratification and pride in seeing younger dancers pursue excellence in tap dance and professional careers in this art form that they had spent a lifetime perfecting. Watching the diverse community of dedicated tap dancers work on their craft motivated the older men to keep on tapping. Unlike many elders in our society, who are discarded as a result of old age, and wind up alone and bereft of community, mentoring and the opportunity to dance gave these older dancers a sense of being needed – compelling them to remain active and engaged for a lifetime. When they experienced medical problems, the social support network they had developed with the younger dancers helped them to cope with them. Overall, their high level of physical activity and emotional engagement contributed to their physical and emotional health, and helped them to age successfully. As these men reached the final stage of life, seeing their brood in pursuit of the art of tap contributed to a deeply felt sense of immortality – that their art would live on in those whose talents they had helped shape, and that the legacy of rhythm tap would not die with them. As Roxanne "Butterfly" expressed it: "It's like, are you gonna disappear without leaving a mark? It's something you really have to do." Succession is one of life's most painful experiences in old age. The self-fulfillment of leaving behind a legacy makes succession less painful. According to Jimmy Slyde, the old heads saw snatches of themselves in the young, which they found extremely gratifying.

For the mentees, the availability of acknowledged masters of tap dance as mentors provided them with an unparalleled opportunity for professional development. The expertise the old heads had in using actual performance settings and their presentational skills before live audiences were considerable pluses. As important as these advantages, however, was the warmth, caring quality, and friendship provided by the elder dancers, since these qualities brought into being an environment designed to bolster the aspirants' self-confidence and develop their talents in tap. It provided them with artistic father figures and with maximum opportunities for creative self-expression within the structure of tap step forms and rhythmic beats. Through the mentoring experience they received at La Cave, the young artists' lives were forever changed. The atmosphere of communal collectivity and nurturance that the mentees enjoyed was created by the old heads as a result of the values that dominated the social zeitgeist of their youth – the emphasis on peace, love, solidarity, community, and cooperation that permeated the culture of the Sixties and especially the nonviolent political civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King. These and associated values provided a model for the tap community that the old heads created at La Cave. Since these values were so central to the success of the mentoring process, they will be discussed in detail below.

Values Imparted by Mentors in the Tap Community and Their Effects

The passing on of values through mentoring is the social basis for the development of a cohesive tap community. The leading values passed on by Jimmy Slyde at La Cave and further endorsed by tap elders Lon Chaney and Chuck Green were of two complementary types: values from traditional tap that centered on the work ethic and ongoing creative development, and values from a later era (influenced by the Sixties counterculture) that focused on cooperation rather than

competition. Above all these values was one overarching one: "to pass on" the tap art form in order to insure the continued survival of rhythm tap. Entrenched in this concept is the importance of passing on to the next generation the history, rhythms, and traditions that make rhythm tap a unique music-dance-art form. This core value was the one most often stressed by Jimmy Slyde. By being a role model and teacher, Slyde achieved the goal he strove for in producing the Wednesday night jam sessions at La Cave– he passed on rhythm tap to the next generation.

The benefits and consequent importance of hard work, practice, repetition of steps, learning through trial and error, ability to work within a kinetic tap structure, and a generally professional and disciplined approach to tap dance as a serious aspiring artist – values that dated from tap's development as a separate dance form – are self-evident and require little elaboration. However, by themselves, they would not insure tap's survival. In order to "pass it on" successfully, a new model or paradigm was needed. That new paradigm was a cooperative rather than a competitive atmosphere, created by cooperative values. By disseminating values in the service of a cooperative learning environment, the elder mentors brought closure to the traditionally popular "challenge" aspect of tap dancing. In the 1930s-mid-1940s, individual achievement as a tap dancer was highly prized; the path to acknowledgement as the best performer offered the possibility for a hoofer to have a lucrative performing career. This acknowledgement was attained through success in the "challenge tap" arena – an arena of competitive dancing in which one among two or more contestants would win acclaim as the best dancer. In the heyday of tap, dancers challenged each other on sidewalks, in the street, and at dancers' clubs in Harlem. For example, at Harlem's Apollo Theatre, challenges that were competitive acts often took place between performances; at Harlem's Hoofers Club and Rhythm Club, the challenge was usually a part of the improvisational performances of the evening. At the Hoofers Club, only the top African American male tap dancers were permitted onstage. Against this model of fierce, highly individualistic competition – a model the old heads had been part of in their prime – a new model of *cooperative, or friendly competition* (also known as *noncompetitive cooperation*) was encouraged. In an effort creating an atmosphere of support and cooperation among dancers, the elder mentors thwart the natural inclination of the male dancers in particular to see tap as a competitive sport. One evening Jimmy Slyde made it a point to say to me that everyone is extremely supportive of each other—there is no competitiveness at La Cave. From the stage, Jimmy Slyde would often offer a strong caveat against making the performance a competition. The young male performers in the formative stage of their development had a tendency to trying to out do each other by seeing who could dance the fastest. This tendency would be nipped in the bud. Jimmy Slyde and the older masters stressed the idea of friendly competition.

Following this model, the tap dance community at La Cave was motivated to pursue tap because they received respect for being dedicated pupils of the art and not because they out-danced their competitors. Only in such an atmosphere, characterized by freedom from cutthroat competition, intense scrutiny, and severe criticism, could most fledgling dancers thrive. The youngest fledgling dancer, Andrew, vividly describes how, within this participatory, non-competitive atmosphere, he was introduced to improvisation:

> Slyde was the first one that got me into improve. He would pull me up on *La Cave*, set the music for me, and say just dance from the heart. I was in a circle at the end of *La Cave* once. Cheney grabbed me by the shoulders, pushed me over. He said, "You're next, kid." I was like, "Excuse me?" 'Cause it was Cheney, Slyde, I think Max was there, Savion and Toe Jam. So these were like the big guns of the time and I'm sitting there, four foot something going "Hello!" Cheney's back behind me, he's like, "You gonna dance, kid." He's like, boom, "You're next." So when that happens, you're forced and you learn. On the fly. When you're put in a spot that you have to perform, you perform.

An interesting side effect of the move from competition to cooperation as a dominant value is the change in meaning attributed to the use of another tap dancer's steps. During the heyday of challenge tap, there was a golden rule: "Thou shall not steal" steps and rhythms associated with a fellow hoofer. It was considered theft, not borrowing or any more innocuous act. During the reemergence of tap at La Cave, when a tap dancer used someone else's rhythm, especially that of a master tap dancer from the past or an old head still living, this use was interpreted as an act of paying homage to those who have come before – the predecessors of a rich cultural tradition. In the changing cultural meanings associated with using another dancer's steps, we have a specific example of the impact of changing values on the tap community. These major values centering around hard work and cooperation were assisted by

others. Together, they made the passing on of a rhythm tap legacy possible. A description of these subsidiary values follows.

Guiding Work Ethic Values: Respect for the Artistic Tradition, Respect for the Individual Artist, Respect for the elders, Leave Your Ego at the Door, Humility, Keep Creating, Equality between the Sexes, Racial and Ethnicity Equality

"Respect for the artistic tradition" of tap is the value that humbles even the most seasoned performers. This value demands subservience to the art that is seen as bigger than the individual and takes a lifetime to master. By honoring the art over the individual, the tap dancers become servants to the art, working to the best of their ability to execute it well. The long-term survival of this struggling art form is dependent on a community of individuals with a sense of purpose, dedicated to keeping the art form alive and moving forward. This can only be accomplished through the efforts of individuals devoted to teaching others around them the art so that its continuance is not dependent on factors such as the availability of tap classes that teach improvisation or the current trends in mainstream entertainment. Coupled with the value of "respect for the artistic tradition" is the idea of "respect for the individual artist". Passed on to the mentees was the concept that each rhythm tap dancer was to be respected for his or her rigorous pursuit of this valued tradition. From the perspective of tap having limitless creative possibilities, the individual as practitioner was given respect for having something unique to say. As a result of rhythm tap's long road to mainstream acceptance, each performer in rhythmic pursuit was recognized for contributing to the art's longevity over time. Recognizing that one was entitled to respect solely for being an artist in pursuit gave individuals—of varied levels of ability—the incentive they needed to cast aside all fears and self-imposed limitations and to dance before an audience of talented onlookers.

The old head/younger dancer relationship has created a deep sense of loyalty to the elders who are often referred to as the godfathers of tap. Highly respected for their lifetime contribution to tap, for their talent, and for the years they have spent assisting the younger generation to develop their art, they received unconditional support from the young dancers, who reliably showed up week after week to perform at La Cave whenever they were in town and not in a show. They understood that because of their level of talent and ability they are important role models to younger dancers at La Cave and that their participation assists the elders in maintaining community cohesiveness. As the younger hoofers performed under the watchful eye of their mentors, homage was often given to them and other forefathers of tap as the mentees executed snatches of the style and rhythms associated with individuals of a former period in tap as they performed their evolving style and rhythms. The younger hoofers would give deference to their elders in conversations with the elders off stage and Savion Glover, the crown prince of his generation of tap dancers, often bowed to Jimmy Slyde as a greeting.

The value "leave your ego at the door" was the salient value mitigating against inter-group conflict. By welcoming everyone to perform, regardless of age or expertise, an opportunity structure was created that encouraged all dancers present to perform. "One's art is the important thing" was the idea promoted by the elder mentors that permeated throughout the evening of individual performances. It was the belief of the elders that removing one's self from the ego emboldened the developing dancer to set aside performance fear and dance before an audience of like others. Instead of "look at me," the message from the performing tap dancer became "look at the myriad possibilities inherent in this wonderful art form." The elder mentors taught the importance of "humility"—an important aspect of "leaving your ego at the door". They demonstrated the importance of this value by maintaining a strong sense of humility in their conversations with other dancers. In their discussions with the younger dancers, they encouraged them to remain humble as they progressed, became more accomplished and gained greater opportunities to perform. Roxanne "Butterfly" recalled, "He (Jimmy) always said be nice and adapt and if there's nothing wrong, you've got to be humble and take knocks wherever it comes."

Jimmy Slyde often emphasized that everyone has something to offer because, as artists, each person has a unique voice. The art of improvisation offers young performers greater opportunity for creativity and self-expression than choreographed tap dancing. "I'm not a prepared dancer," Jimmy Slyde would say to his audience, signaling dancers to follow his lead—to stay away from choreography and take the creative leap that improvising offers. Dancers strive to attain new heights of expression. By emphasizing the motto "keep creating", the dancers attempt to protect the art from becoming repetitive and monotonous, giving it a fresh, unrelenting vitality. The collective jam, in which every tap dancer in the audience is called on stage to participate, is a

spirited and fitting finale that ushered the evening to an exhilarating conclusion. Jimmy Slyde would remind the young lions who were dancing at their professional best not to get too complacent—thinking they had learned it all. He would emphasize that there was still more to achieve—much more to create. Jimmy Slyde often said that he was still learning trying to challenge himself to new creative heights of expression.

Although the field of tap dancing is male-dominated and has been traditionally, a belief in the equality of male and female rhythm tap dancers was stressed by the elder mentors since the early days of *La Cave*. Recognizing the strides made by women in tap, Jimmy Slyde often acknowledged to the audience that although historically rhythm tap dance had been a male-dominated field, women were now on equal footing with the men. He would make a statement like this after one of the young women, either professionals or novices, gave their performing best on stage. Although the majority of featured performers are male, female dancers at La Cave were considered to be equal to their male counterparts in terms of their potential ability to improvise as jazz artists. One of the few female dancers on the professional level, Karen Calloway, was referred to as a "young lioness" by Jimmy Slyde at La Cave. This title signaled to her audience of fellow artists that she was on her equal ground and status with the "young lions" the professional males who outnumbered the women in attendance each evening. Perhaps in recognition of the vital role played by White women in keeping rhythm tap alive and also because Black women did not receive adequate recognition for their prior contributions, gender equality is stressed. When the residual element of past gender disparity slipped through in the actions of individuals, Jimmy Slyde would quickly remind his folk that inequality would not be tolerated. One evening, when Roxanne "Butterfly", a student on the cusp of becoming a professional at the time, danced at a new and exciting level of ability, elder hoofer Lon Chaney, who had danced during the period of gender inequality in tap, called out from the side of the stage, "Watch out girls." Jimmy Slyde maintained an atmosphere of equality between the sexes by correcting him, saying, "Watch out boys and girls."

Not only did the elders refuse to take a gender turf stance when it came to hoofing but they refused to take a racial turf stance as well. They would not accept the contention often heard that rhythm tap was an entirely Black music-dance-art form that should be performed by members of their racial group exclusively. Although the commercial world of rhythm tap was dominated by African American men, the elders preached racial equality and promoted a level racial dancing field for tap dancers of all racial and ethnic backgrounds. Jimmy Slyde often reminded his tap audience members of the artistic contributions of non-Black hoofers of his generation, including the late Steve Condos and Jerry Aimes. The old heads watched with great pleasure the younger dancers from outside the African American race and culture dancing with enthusiasm and vigor. During the show, he often complimented international dancers (who came primarily from Europe and Japan) for their dancing and dedication to the art—signaling to the American artists in the room that there are no racial or ethnic boundaries in rhythm tap. For them, the participation in rhythm tap by individuals irrespective of race and ethnicity background was a testimony to how far the art form had come in terms of global acceptance.

Conclusion

This article has described an example of highly successful mentoring in the rhythm tap community, framing it within the role traditionally played by mentoring in the African-American community generally and within the broader history of tap dance that brought the mentoring process about. It has examined the key role played by elder tap dancers in passing on the history, steps, and survival values associated with rhythm tap, the benefits of mentoring to the mentors and to the younger dancers mentored, and the ways in which the hard work ethic, cooperative, and creation-friendly values associated with tap as a performance became generalized to an artistic social community and lifestyle. It has also indicated how the values and skills imparted to aspiring dancers at La Cave, a small performance space that existed in the 1990s, enabled rhythm tap to be passed on to a new generation of dancers, who are now motivated to themselves continue passing on the tap legacy.

References

Anderson, Elijah. (1990). *Streetwise: Race, class and change in an urban community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Anderson, Elijah. (2000). *Code of the street: Decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Anderson, Elijah. (2003). *A Place on the corner*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Becker, Howard. (1982). *Art worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Berliner, Paul F. (1993). *Thinking in jazz: The infinite art of improvisation*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. (1996). *Photography: A middle-brow art*. California: Stanford University Press.

DeNora, Tia. (1995). *Beethoven and the construction of genius: Musical politics in Vienna, 1792–1803*.California: The University of California Press.

De Veaux, Scott. (1997). *The Birth of bebop: A social and musical history*. California: The University of California Press.

Drake, St. Clair and Horace Cayton. (1945). *Black metropolis: A study of negro life in a northern city*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Engle, Gladys and Kurt Lang. (1990). *Etched in memory: The building and survival of artistic reputation*. Illinois: The University of Illinois Press.

Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth. (1988). *Within the plantation household: Black and white women from the old south*. North Carolina: UNC Press.

Fischer, Claude. (1982). *To dwell among friends: Personal networks in town and city*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Greenfield, Liah. (1989). *Different worlds: A sociological study of taste, choice, and success in art*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Gutman, Herbert. (1976). *The Black family in slavery and freedom, 1750–1925*. New York: Pantheon.

Hunter, Tera W. (1997). *To 'joy my freedom: Southern Black women's lives and labors after the civil war*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Katznelson, Ira. (1981). *City trenches: Urban politics and the patterning of class in the United States*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Levine, Lawrence. (1988). *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The emergence of cultural hierarchy in America*. Cambridge, MA: The President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Malone, Jaqui. (1996). *Steppin' on the blues: The visible rhythms of African American dance*. Illinois: The University of Illinois Press.

Payne, Charles M. (1996). *I've got the light of freedom*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Peterson, Richard. (1997). *Creating country music: Fabricating authenticity*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Rose, Tricia. (1994). *Black noise: Rap music and Black culture in contemporary America*. Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press.

Stack, Carol. (1974). *All our kin: Strategies for survival in a Black community*. New York: Harper&Row.

Valis Hill, Constance. (2000). *Brotherhood in rhythm: The jazz tap dancing of the Nicholas Brothers*. California: The University of California Press.

Wilson, William J. (1987). *The truly disadvantaged*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Wilson, William J. (1996). *When work disappears: The world of the new urban poor*. NY: Knopf.

African American Scholarly Contributions to Non-Black Ethnic Studies: A Bibliographic Essay

ROBERT FIKES, JR.—SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY

Abstract

Still prevalent is the canard that African Americans, owing to their centuries-long ordeal of mistreatment by whites, have consistently and obsessively interpreted what occurs in society in a black-white dichotomy, and that the majority of what accounts for social inequities, political dominance, employment discrimination, skin color preference and a host of other issues is the result of this ongoing, unrelenting interaction of two races often in conflict with one another. The occasion to examine and explain what happens outside the realm of black-white comparisons seem rarely to present itself, thus it is easy to assume that blacks are not particularly concerned with the affairs of other nonwhites or of engaging in investigations of whiteness as an interdisciplinary field of study. As shown with published writings in this bibliographic essay, such an assumption is not supported and does not have a basis in fact.

As discussed previously by this researcher, African Americans have investigated and published scholarly books on foreign peoples and cultures since the 1880s. Less well-documented are instances of them writing as principal authors and editors of publications on ethnic minority groups in this country other than those of African lineage which this essay addresses using selected examples. This bibliographic essay compartmentalizes the contributions black scholars have made to four racialized ethnic groups in the United States and their interdisciplinary fields taught at colleges and universities across the nation various named but fitting in the categories of Asian American Studies, Latino American Studies, Native American Studies, and Whiteness Studies. Additionally, this essay features general works by black authors that address situations involving two or more ethnic groups and, under a different heading, works that demonstrate how African Americans and one other minority race have affected each other.

General/Multi-Ethnic Works

Perhaps the most ambitious approach to studying racial and ethnic groups in the United States is to attempt a broad survey that reflects on the situation of these groups, typically demonstrating in what respects they differ and tying together the threads of their common experiences in some fashion. An African American researcher who has done this repeatedly is conservative economist and Hoover Institution senior fellow Thomas Sowell. Of his numerous books are some that deal generally with ethnicities in the United States, namely: *Race and Economics* (David McKay Co., 1975), *Essays and Data on American Ethnic Groups* (Urban Institute, 1978), *Markets and Minorities* (Basic Books, 1981), and *Ethnic America: A History* (Basic Books, 1981).

Others blacks who have contrasted multiple American ethnicities in scholarly studies include social worker Sheila E. Henry, *Cultural Persistence and Socio Eco-*

Robert Fikes Jr. *is a reference librarian at San Diego State University where he is also subject bibliographer for and Middle East, African, and United States history, and also Africana Studies. An alumnus of Tuskegee University, he has graduate degrees in European history and in library science from the University of Minnesota.*

nomic Mobility: A Comparative Study of Assimilation Among Armenians and Japanese in Los Angeles (R & E Research Associates, 1978); George Henderson, another prolific author and administrator at the University of Oklahoma, *Social Work Interventions: Helping People of Color* (Bergin & Garvey, 1994) and, as editor, *Understanding and Counseling Ethnic Minorities* (Thomas, 1979); University of Pittsburgh historian Laurence A. Glasco, *Ethnicity and Social Structure: Irish, Germans, and Native-Born of Buffalo, N.Y., 1850–1860* (Arno Press, 1980); Houston A. Baker, former Modern Language Association president, editor of *Three American Literatures: Essays in Chicano, Native American, and Asian American Literatures for Teachers of American Literature* (Modern Language Association of America, 1982); Nathaniel Norment Jr., "Contrastive Analyses of Organizational Structures and Cohesive Elements in Native and ESL, Chinese, English, and Spanish Writings" (Ph.D., diss., Fordham University, 1984); Clint C. Wilson, *Minorities and Media: Diversity and the End of Mass Communication* (Sage Publications, 1985); and Milton D. Morris, *Immigration—The Beleaguered Democracy* (Brookings Institution, 1985).

J. Owens Smith adroitly answered why European immigrants found it much easier to escape the slums than African Americans in *The Politics of Racial Inequality: A Systematic Comparative Macro-Analysis From the Colonial Period to 1970* (Greenwood Press, 1987); public health expert Lovell A. Jones, who has published papers on the heath status of Latinos and Asian Americans (Chinese and Vietnamese), *Minorities and Cancer* (Springer-Verlag, 1989); political scientists Bryan O. Jackson and Michael B. Preston, editors, *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California* (IGS Press, 1991); E. Percil Stanford, editor, *Diversity: New Approaches to Ethnic Minority Aging* (Baywood Pub. Co.,1992); Talmadge Anderson, "Comparative Experience Factors Among Blacks, Asian and Hispanic Americans: Coalition or Conflicts?" in *Journal of Black Studies*, 23 (September 1992); Wellesley College political science professor Wilbur C. Rich, editor of *The Politics of Minority Coalitions: Race, Ethnicity, and Shared Uncertainties* (Praeger, 1996); Stanley O. Gaines, *Culture, Ethnicity, and Personal Relationship Processes* (Routledge, 1997); Ruth M. Lowery, *Immigrants in Children's Literature* (Peter Lang, 2000); Jewelle T. Gibbs and Teiahsha Bankhead, *Preserving Privilege: California Politics, Propositions, and People of Color* (Praeger, 2001); Michigan State University social work professor Ronald E. Hall, *Discrimination Among Oppressed Populations* (E. Mellen Press, 2003); devout Christian sociologist George A. Yancey, *Who is White?: Latinos, Asians, and the New Black/Nonblack Divide* (L. Rienner, 2003); Rutgers University medical historian Keith Wailoo, *The Troubled Dream of Genetic Medicine: Ethnicity and Innovation in Tay-Sachs, Cystic Fibrosis, and Sickle Cell Disease* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); UCLA professor Lorrie A. Frasure, "Beyond the Myth of the White Middle-Class: Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Settlement in Suburban America," in the *National Political Science Review* (special issue, 2007); and Latoya C. Conner, et al., "Ethnic and Cultural Correlates of Addictions among Diverse Women" in *Women and Addictions* (Guilford Publications, 2009).

On Black-Non-Black Contacts

More frequent are occasions when black academics investigate relationships blacks have had with other racialized groups usually involving degrees of competition, confrontation, cooperation, and intimacy. It is often the case that these authors themselves are admittedly of biracial or multiracial racial heritage.

In terms of Black-Native American interaction examples are by pioneer anthropologist Laurence Foster, "Negro-Indian Relations in the Southeast" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1931); Raleigh A. Wilson, "Negro and Indian Relations in the Five Civilized Tribes from 1865 to 1907" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1950); Rhett S. Jones, "Black/Indian Relations: An Overview of the Scholarship," in *Transforming Anthropology*, 10 (2001); Robert K. Collins, "When Playing Indian is a Misplaced Assumption: Evidence From Black Choctaw Lived Experiences," in *Race, Roots, and Relations: Native and African Americans* (Albatross Press, 2005); Lonnie Harrington, *Both Sides of the Water: Essays on African-Native American Interactions* (RoseDog Books, 2006); and Tiya A. Miles and Sharon P. Holland, editors, *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country* (Duke University Press, 2008), and also by Prof. Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (University of California Press, 2005) winner of the 2006 Frederick Jackson Turner Award from the Organization of American Historians. The disparate, discriminatory treatment of African American by Cherokees is largely the theme of Fay A. Yarbrough's *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). Similarly, Celia E. Naylor has also tackled the subject in here writings including her book, African*

Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens (University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

Examples of writing by African Americans on Black-Asian American relations and comparative histories are: University of Washington historian Quintard Taylor, "Blacks and Asians in a White City: Japanese Americans and African Americans in Seattle, 1890–1940," in *Western Historical Quarterly*, 22 (November 1991); the late literature professor Mary Young, *Mules and Dragons: Popular Culture Images in the Selected Writings of African-American and Chinese-American Women Writers* (Greenwood Press, 1993); Ella Stewart, "Communication Between African Americans and Korean Americans: Before and After the Los Angeles Riots," in *Amerasia Journal*, 19 (Spring 1993); Regina Freer, "Black-Korean Conflict," in *The Los Angeles Riots: Lessons for the Urban Future* (Westview Press, 1994); Patricia Guthrie, "The Impact of Perceptions on Interpersonal Interactions in an African-American/Asian-American Housing Project," in *Journal of Black Studies* 25 (January 1995); Michael C. Thornton, "U.S. News Magazine Images of Black-Asian Relationships, 1980–1992," in *Communication Review*, 1 (1996); Reginald Kearney, *African American Views of the Japanese: Solidarity or Sedition?* (State University of New York Press, 1998); Afrocentric theorist Molefi K. Asante, editor of *Socio-Cultural Conflict Between African American and Korean American* (University Press of America, 2000); psychologist Halford Hosoi Fairchild and wife Denise G. Fairchild, "African Americans and Korean Americans: Cultures in Conflict," in *Challenges of a Changing America: Perspectives on Immigration and Multiculturalism in the United States* (Caddo Gap Press, 2001); Jacalyn Harden, *Double Cross: Japanese Americans in Black and White* (University of Minnesota Press, 2003); Hazel McFerson, *Blacks and Asians in America: Crossing, Conflict and Commonality* (Carolina Academic Press, 2006); and Deborah E. Whaley, "Black Bodies/Yellow Masks: The Orientalist Aesthetic In Hip-Hop and Black Visual Culture," in *AfroAsian Encounters: Culture, History, Politics* (New York University Press, 2006).

Black-Latino American connections are discussed by historian Douglas H. Daniels, "Los Angeles Zoot: Race 'Riot,' The Pachuco, and Black Music Culture," in *Journal of Negro History*, 82 (Spring 1997); Kwanzaa founder Maulana Karenga, "Black and Latino Relations: Context, Challenge and Possibilities," in *Multi-America: Essays on Cultural Wars and Cultural Peace* (Viking, 1998); self-described "Latinegra" who arrived in the Bronx from Puerto Rico, Marta I. Cruz-Janzen, "Latinegras: Desired Women—Undesirable Mothers, Daughters, Sisters, and Wives," in *Frontiers*, 22 (2001), and "Lives on the Crossfire: The Struggles of Multiethnic and Multiracial Latinos for Identity in a Dichotomous and Racialized World," in *Race, Gender & Class*, 9 (2002); Earl Ofari Hutchinson, *The Latino Challenge to Black America* (Middle Passage Press, 2007); and Gaye T. Johnson, the entry "Hip Hop" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States* (Oxford University Press, 2005), and "Constellations of Struggle: Luisa Moreno, Charlotta Bass, and the Legacy for Ethnic Studies," in *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies*, 33 (Spring 2008),. Johnson''s essay "Waltz Over the Waves: The Mexican Genius of Borderlands Jazz" won the American Studies Association 2006 prize for Best Writing on Comparative Ethnic Studies and was published in the journal *Comparative American Studies*. Her forthcoming book is titled *The Future Has a Past: Race, Politics, and Memory in Afro-Chicano Los Angeles*.

Asian and Pacific Island American Studies

Publications by African Americans on Asian and Pacific Island Americans include those by Howard University historian Merze Tate, the first black female to attend Oxford University, who wrote two books that reflected on native Hawaiians, *The United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom: A Political History* (Yale University Press, 1965) and *Hawaii: Reciprocity Or Annexation* (Michigan State University Press, 1968); high level diplomat Donald F. McHenry who wrote on American held territories in the Pacific Islands in *Micronesia, Trust Betrayed: Altruism vs. Self Interest in American Foreign Policy* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1975); in *Presenting Laurence Yep* (Twayne Publishers, 1995) literature professor and children's book author Dianne Johnson-Feelings summarized the life and critiqued the works of a Chinese American writer; film critic Frances K. Gateward interviewed Renee Tajima-Pena in "Rediscovering Asian America," in *Angles: Women Working in Film and Video*, 4 (1999); Charles Spigner, "Establishing Baseline Information on Cigarette Smoking Behavior From Ethnic-Specific Groups of Asian American and Pacific Islanders Youth in Seattle, Washington, 1996–1998," in *Asian American Pacific Islander Journal of Health*, 9 (Winter-Spring 2001); and cultural anthropologist Curtis Takada Rooks, "Multicultural Asian Families in Alaska: Not At The

Margins, But At The Center," in *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed Heritage Asian Americans* (Temple University Press, 2001).

Michigan State University social work professor Ronald E. Hall (Ph.D., Atlanta University) has been especially productive in writing about non-black ethnic groups, focusing on intraracial racism and the significance of skin color variations within these groups. Of his representative writings are a book and two articles: *Skin Color as a Post-Colonial Issue Among Asian-Americans* (Mellen Press, 2003), "Western Assimilation of Southeast Eurasians (Pilipino, Indonesian, Bruneian Singaporean, Malaysian, Thai, Cambodian, Laotian, Vietnamese): A Quest for Identity in the Americas," in *Asian Profile*, 29 (June 2001), and "Myths of the 'Model Minority': Stereotypes and the Reality of Asian-American Gangs," *Asian Profile*, 30 (December 2002). Sociologist Brenda L. Moore has contributed *Serving Our Country: Japanese American Women in the Military During World War II* (Rutgers University Press, 2003); and the versatile historian Gerald Horne, *The White Pacific: U.S. Imperialism and Black Slavery in the South Seas After the Civil War* (University of Hawaii Press, 2007) which, despite the title, is mainly about forced labor and the slave trade in Melanesians and Polynesians in the 1800s and the role white Americans played.

Latino American Studies

Black researchers who have focused on the culture and experiences of Latinos in the United States include Tufts University urban policy specialist James Jennings, *Puerto Rican Politics in New York City* (University Press of America, 1977); Halford Hosoi Fairchild, "Chicano, Hispanic, or Mexican American: What's in a Name?" in *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 3 (December 1981); Marvin A. Lewis, *Introduction to the Chicano Novel* (Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1982); Ronald E. Hall, "The 'Bleaching Syndrome': Implications of Light Skin for Hispanic American Assimilation," in *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 16 (August 1994), and "Hispanic-American Males in Higher Education: A Descriptive/Quantitative Analysis," in *Education*, 121 (Spring 2001); two publications by geography professor Karen D. Johnson-Webb, the co-authored article "North Carolina Communities in Transition: The Hispanic Influx, in *The North Carolina Geographer*, 5 (Winter 1996), and her book *Recruiting Hispanic Labor: Immigrants in Nontraditional Roles* (LFB Scholarly Pub, 2003); Sekou M. Franklin, "*Conflicts in the Coalition: Challenges to Black and Latino Political Alliances," in Western Journal of Black Studies, 26 (Summer 2002);* Helane D. Adams, entries on "Costa Rican Americans," "Panamanian Americans, and the Chicano social manifesto "Spiritual Plan of Aztlan" in the *Encyclopedia Latina: History, Culture, Society in the United States* (Grolier Publishers, 2005); and two black authors, Bobby E. Vaughn and Ben Vinson III, both experts on the history of African descendants in Mexico, teamed up to write "Unfinished Migrations: From the Mexican South to the American South—Impressions on Afro-Mexican Migration to North Carolina," in *Beyond Slavery; The Multilayered Legacy of Africans in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2007).

Native American Studies

Prominent contributions by African Americans to Native American Studies are Minnie T. Bailey's study on the exploitation of and conflict amongst the "Five Civilized Nations" (Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole, Creek, and Cherokee), *Reconstruction in Indian Territory: A Story of Avarice, Discrimination and Opportunism* (Kennikat, 1972); poet-jazz critic Ron Welburn, author of the award-winning *Roanoke and Wampum; Topics in Native American Heritage and Literature* (Peter Lang, 2001); Melissane Parm Schrems, "A Freedom to Suit Themselves: Negotiating Mashpee Indian Political Identity on Cape Cod, 1746–1834' (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 2003); Robert K. Collins, "Sapokni Pit Huklo (Listening to Grandmother): Family, Race and Identity Resolution in a Choctaw Community" (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 2002); a book on Ogibwa Indians by Harvard University sociologist Lawrence Bobo, *Prejudice in Politics: Group Position, Public Opinion, and the Wisconsin Treaty Rights Dispute* (Harvard University Press, 2006); and Tiya Miles, "Circular Reasoning": Recentering Cherokee Women in the Antiremoval Campaigns," in *American Quarterly*, 61 (June 2009).

Whiteness Studies and White Culture

Odd as it may at first seem, credit is given to W.E.B. Du Bois as a founder of Whiteness Studies by its best known modern day exponents. They cite Du Bois' *Darkwater: Voices From Within the Veil* (Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920) in which he wrote: "The discovery of personal whiteness among the world's peoples is a very modern thing—a nineteenth- and twentieth-century matter, indeed . . . . the (European descended) world in

a sudden, emotional conversion has discovered that it is white and by that token, wonderful." In *Darkwater* Du Bois also introduced his idea of the "psychological wage of whiteness" which he later expounded on in *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* (Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1935).

More broadly, some of the earliest writings by black Americans on white Americans, including biographies and general works that reflect primarily on the lives, social activities, and literary and artistic achievements of whites, were done by a number of distinguished black scholars, among them Archibald H. Grimke, *Charles Sumner: The Scholar in Politics* (Funk & Wagnalls, 1892); W.E.B. Du Bois, *John Brown* (G.W. Jacobs & Co., 1909); Charles H. Wesley, *The Collapse of the Confederacy* (Associated Publishers, 1937); J. Ida Jiggets, *Religion, Diet, and Health of Jews* (Bloch, 1949); Stella B. Brookes, *Joel Chandler Harris, Folklorist* (University of Georgia Press, 1950); Leadie M. Clark, Clark, *Walt Whitman's Concept of the American Common Man* (Philosophical Library, 1955); Otelia Cromwell, *Lucretia Mott* (Harvard University Press, 1958); Philip Butcher, *George W. Cable: The Northampton Years* (Columbia University Press, 1959) and *George W. Cable* (Twayne, 1962); three books on the American South by John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800–1861* (Harvard University Press, 1956), *Reconstruction: After the Civil War* (University of Chicago Press, 1961), and *A Southern Odyssey: Travelers in the Antebellum North* (Louisiana State University Press, 1976); Bernard Mandel, *Samuel Gompers: A Biography* (Antioch Press, 1963); two books pertaining to a literary giant by Donald B. Gibson, *The Fiction of Stephen Crane* (Southern Illinois University Press, 1968) and *Red Badge of Courage: Redefining the Hero* (Twayne Publishers, 1988); Arnold Rampersad, *Melville's Israel Potter, A Pilgrimage and Progress* (Popular Press, 1969); George D. Kelsey, on a conservative white religious body, *Social Ethics Among Southern Baptists* (Scarecrow Press, 1973); Nathan A. Scott, *Three American Moralists: Mailer, Bellow, Trilling* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1973); Jerome H. Wood Jr., *Conestoga Crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1790* (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1979); Trinidad-born C.L.R James who lived in the U.S. for more than two decades, *Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In* (Bewick, 1978) which he wrote while detained at Ellis Island; C. Calvin, *War and Wartime Changes: The Transformation of Arkansas, 1940–1945* (University of Arkansas Press, 1986); and James A. Snead, *Figures of Division: William Faulkner's Major Novels* (Methuen, 1986).

Another black credited with inspiring "Critical Whiteness Studies" that emerged in the mid-1990s is novelist James Baldwin who in his often cited essay "On Being 'White' and Other Lies" in *Essence* (April 1984) asserted there are no white people, only people who delude themselves into thinking they are white; that choosing to be white was a "moral choice" and proof of the utter failure of leadership in the "white community." More recent contributions by black intellectuals to Whiteness Studies, white cultural manifestations and white heroes are by Vincent G. Harding, *A Certain Magnificence: Lyman Beecher and the Transformation of American Protestantism* (Carlson Pub., 1991); Lowery S. Lowery, *Stuart Davis: American Painter* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991); Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Harvard University Press, 1992); Cheryl Harris, "Whiteness as Property," in *Harvard Law Review*, 106 (June 1993); Edouard Glissant, *Faulkner, Mississippi* (Stock, 1996); Melvin Tuggle, *Evolution of John Dewey's Conception of Philosophy and His Notion of Truth* (University Press of America, 1997); Leonne M. Hudson, *The Odyssey of a Southerner: The Life and Times of Gustavus Woodson Smith* (Mercer University Press, 1998); Doris D. Carter, *Robert Floyd Kennon: Reform Governor* (University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1998); Valerie M. Babb, *Whiteness Visible: The Meaning of Whiteness in American Literature and Culture* (New York University Press, 1998); Willie Tolliver Jr., *Henry James as a Biographer: A Self Among Others* (Garland, 2000); Lerone Bennett Jr., *Forced into Glory: Abraham Lincoln's White Dream* (Johnson Publishing Company, 2000); Thandeka, *Learning To Be White: Money, Race and God in America* (Continuum, 2001); Harvey Cormier, *The Truth is What Works: William James, Pragmatism, and the Seed of Death* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2001); Carol M. Swain, *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenges to Integration* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); Kirby Moss, *The Color of Class: Poor Whites and the Paradox of Privilege* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); and Ronald W. Walters, *White Nationalism, Black Interests: Conservative Public Policy and the Black Community* (Wayne State University Press, 2003).

The familiar tandem of Gates Jr., Henry Louis, and K. Anthony Appiah, are the editors of *White Pages: Black Writers on Whites and Whiteness* (Soft Skull Press, 2005); Gerald Horne, *Class Struggle in Hollywood, 1930–1950: Moguls, Mobsters, Stars, Reds, & Trade Unionists* (University of Texas Press, 2001)

and *The Final Victim of the Blacklist: John Howard Lawson, Dean of the Hollywood Ten* (University of California Press, 2006); George C. Yancey, editor, *What White Looks Like: African-American Philosophers on the Whiteness Question* (Routledge, 2004); Vincent H. Gaddis, *Herbert Hoover, Unemployment, and the Public Sphere: A Conceptual History, 1919–1933* (University Press of America, 2005); Stephany R. Spaulding, "The Crisis of White Imagination: Towards the Literary Abolition of Whiteness" (Ph.D. diss., Purdue University, 2007); University of Texas communication professor Leroy G. Dorsey, *We Are All Americans, Pure and Simple: Theodore Roosevelt and the Myth of Americanism* (University of Alabama Press, 2007); and Christopher Brown at the University of New Mexico, "www.hate.com:White Supremacist Discourse on the Internet and the Construction of Whiteness Ideology," in *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 20 (April 2009).

One of the more intriguing conclusions reached by a number of black authors mentioned here is that, based on recent survey evidence, Asian, Latino, Native American and other non-blacks will increasingly identify themselves as "white" and in alignment with dominant group or "white" perceptions, values, and prejudices. As one of the black authors, George Yancey, put it: "The rejection of African Americans, rather than the acceptance of European Americans, is the best explanation of social distance in the United States." Ironically, if the trend on nonblack ethnic populations identifying and being assimilated as white continues this may mean that African Americans will in the long run remain the "other" and that perhaps after a generation or so from now only Black Studies and a more expansive version of Whiteness Studies will be the only survivors of what had been the several racialized subfields of Ethic Studies. And that would indeed be ironic.

References

Anderson, T. (1992). Comparative experience factors among Blacks, Asian, and Hispanic Americans. *Journal of Black Studies*, 23, 27–38.

Adams, H. D. (2005). Costa Rican Americans. In I. Stavans & H. Augenbraum. *Encyclopedia Latina: History, culture, and society in the United States*. (pp. 394–395). Danbury, CT: Grolier Academic Reference.

Adams, H. D. (2005). Panamanian Americans. In I. Stavans & H. Augenbraum. *Encyclopedia Latina: History, culture, and society in the United States*. (pp. 313–314). Danbury, CT: Grolier Academic Reference.

Adams, H. D. (2005). Spiritual plan of Aztlan. In I. Stavans & H. Augenbraum. *Encyclopedia Latina: History, culture, and society in the United States*. (pp. 133–134). Danbury, CT: Grolier Academic Reference.

Asante, M. K. (2000). *Socio-cultural conflict between African American and Korean American*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Babb, V. M. (1998). *Whiteness visible: The meaning of whiteness in American literature and culture. New York:* New York University Press.

Bailey, M. T. (1972). *Reconstruction in Indian territory: A story of avarice, discrimination and opportunism*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat.

Baker, H. A. (1982). *Three American literatures: Essays in Chicano, Native American, and Asian American literatures for teachers of American literature*. New York: Modern Language Association.

Baldwin, J. (1984). On being 'White' and other lies. *Essence*, 14, 90–92.

Bennett, L. (2000). *Forced into glory: Abraham Lincoln's white dream*. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company.

Bobo, L. (2006). *Prejudice in politics: Group position, public opinion, and the Wisconsin treaty rights dispute*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brookes, S. B. (1950). *Joel Chandler Harris, folklorist*. University of Georgia Press.

Brown, C. (2009). www.hate.com: White supremacist discourse on the internet and the construction of whiteness ideology. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 20, 189–208.

Butcher, P. (1959). *George W. Cable: The Northampton years*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Butcher, P. (1962). *George W. Cable*. New York: Twayne.

Calvin, C. (1986). *War and wartime changes: The transformation of Arkansas, 1940–1945* Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press.

Carter, D. D. (1998). *Robert Floyd Kennon: Reform governor*. Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1998

Clark, L. M. (1955). *Walt Whitman's concept of the American common man*. New York: Philosophical Library.

Collins, R. K. (2002). Sapokni pit huklo (Listening to grandmother): Family, race and identity resolution in a Choctaw community. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles.

Collins, R. K. (2005). When playing Indian in a misplaced assumption: Evidence from Black Choctaw lived experiences. In T. Strauss (Ed.), *Race, roots, and relations: Native and African Americans*. (pp. 156–161). Chicago: Albatross Press.

Connor, L. C., Le Fauve, C. E., & Wallace, B. C. (2009). Ethnic and cultural correlates of addition among diverse women. In K. Brady, F. Back, & S. F. Greenfield (Eds.), *Women and addiction: A comprehensive handbook*. (pp. 453–474). New York: Guilford Publications.

Cormier, C. (2001). *The truth is what works: William James, pragmatism, and the seed of death. Lanham, MD:* Rowman & Littlefield.

Cromwell, O. (1958). *Lucretia Mott*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cruz-Janzen, M. (2001). Latinegras: Desired women—undesirable mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives. *Frontiers*, 22, 168–183.

Cruz-Janzen, M. (2002). Lives on the crossfire: The struggles of multiethnic and multiracial Latinos for identity in a dichotomous and racialized world. *Race, Gender & Class*, 9, 47–62.

Daniels, D H. (1997). Los Angeles zoot: Race "riot," the Pachuco, and Black music culture. *Journal of Negro History*, 82, 98–119.

Dorsey, L. G. (2007). *We are all Americans, pure and simple: Theodore Roosevelt and the myth of Americanism*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1935). *Black reconstruction in America, 1860–1880*. Harcourt, Brace and Co.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1930). *John Brown*. Philadelphia: G.W. Jacobs & Co.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1920). *Darkwater: Voices from within the veil*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

Fairchild, H. H., & Fairchild, D. G. (2001). African Americans and Korean Americans: Cultures in conflict. In E. R. Myers (Ed.), *Challenges of a changing America: Perspectives on Immigration and multiculturalism in the United States*. (pp. 167–174). San Francisco: Caddo Gap Press.

Fairchild, H. H., & Cozens, J. A. (1981). Chicano, Hispanic, or Mexican American: What's in a name? *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 3, 191–198.

Foster, L. (1931). *Negro-Indian relations in the Southeast*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Franklin, J. H. (1956). *The militant South, 1800–1861*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Franklin, J. H. (1961). *Reconstruction: After the Civil War*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Franklin, J. H. (1976). *A Southern odyssey: Travelers in the antebellum North*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Franklin, S. M., & Seltzer, R. (2002). Conflicts in the coalition: Challenges to Black and Latino political alliances. *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 26, 75–88.

Frasure, L. A. (2007). Beyond the myth of the white middle-class: Immigrants and ethnic minority settlement in suburban America. *National Political Science Review*, 11, 65–86.

Freer, R. 1994). Black-Korean conflict. In M. Baldassare (Ed.), *The Los Angeles Riots: Lessons for the urban future*. (pp. 175–203). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Gaddis, V. H. (2005). *Herbert Hoover, unemployment, and the public sphere: A conceptual history, 1919–1933*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Gaines, S. O. (1997). *Culture, ethnicity, and personal relationship processes*. New York: Routledge.

Gates, H. L., Appiah, K. A., & Vazquez, M. C. (2005). *White pages: Black writers on whites and whiteness*. New York: Soft Skull Press.

Gateward, F. K. (1999). Rediscovering Asian America. *Angles: Women Working in Film and Video*, 4, 9–11.

Gibbs, J. T., & Bankhead, T. (2001). *Preserving privilege: California, politics, propositions, and people of color*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Gibson, G. B. (1968). *The fiction of Stephen Crane*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Gibson, G. B. (1988). *Red badge of courage: Redefining the hero*. New York: Twayne Publishers.

Glasco, L. (1980). *Ethnicity and social structure: Irish, Germans, and native-born of Buffalo, N.Y., 1850–1860*. New York: Arno Press.

Glissant, E. (1996). *Faulkner, Mississippi*. Paris: Stock.

Grimke, A. H. (1892). *Charles Sumner: The scholar in politics*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Guthrie,P. (1995). The impact of perceptions on interpersonal interactions in an African-American/Asian housing project. *Journal of Black Studies*, 25, 377–395.

Hall, R. E. (1994). The 'bleaching syndrome': Implications of light skin for Hispanic American assimilation. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 16, 307–314.

Hall, R. E. (2001). Hispanic-American males in higher education: A descriptive/quantitative analysis. *Education*, 121, 565–574.

Hall, R. E. (2003). *Discrimination among oppressed populations*. Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press.

Hall, R. E. (2002). Myths of the 'model minority': Stereotypes and the reality of Asian-American gangs. *Asian Profile*, 30, 541–548.

Hall, R. E. (2003). *Skin color as a post-colonial issue among Asian-Americans*. E. Mellen Press.

Hall, R. E. (2001). Western assimilation of southeast Eurasians (Pilipino, Indonesian, Bruneian Singaporean, Malaysian, Thai, Cambodian, Laotian, Vietnamese): A quest for identity in the Americas. *Asian Profile*, 29, 231–238.

Harden, J. (2003). *Double cross: Japanese Americans in black and white*. Carolina Academic Press.

Harding, V. G. (1991). *A certain magnificence: Lyman Beecher and the transformation of American Protestantism*. Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Pub.

Harrington, L. (2006). *Both sides of the water: Essays on African-Native American interactions*. Pittsburgh, PA: RoseDog Books.

Harris, C. (1993). Whiteness as property. *Harvard Law Review*, 106, 1709–1791.

Henderson, G. (1994). *Social work interventions: Helping people of color*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Henderson, G. (1979). *Understanding and counseling ethnic minorities*. Springfield, IL: Thomas.

Henry, S. E. (1978). *Cultural persistence and socio economic mobility: A comparative study of assimilation among Armenians and Japanese in Los Angeles*. San Francisco: R & E Research.

Horne, G. (2001). *Class struggle in Hollywood, 1930–1950: Moguls, mobsters, stars, reds, & trade unionists*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Horne, G. (2006). *The final victim of the blacklist: John Howard Lawson, dean of the Hollywood Ten*. University of California Press.

Horne, G. (2007). *The white Pacific: U.S. imperialism and Black slavery in the South Seas after the Civil War*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Hudson, L. M. (1998). *The odyssey of a southerner: The life and times of Gustavus Woodson Smith*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press.

Hutchinson, E. O. (2007). *The Latino challenge to Black America*. Los Angeles: Middle Passage Press.

Jackson, B. O. & Preston, M. B. (1991). *Racial and ethnic politics in California*. Berkeley, CA: IGS Press.

James, C. L. R. (1978). *Mariners, renegades, and castaways: The story of Herman Melville and the world we live in*. New York: Bewick.

Jiggetts, J. I. (1949). *Religion, diet, and health of Jews*. New York: Bloch.

Johnson, G. T. (2008). Constellations of struggle: Luisa Moreno, Charlotta Bass, and the legacy for ethnic studies. *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies*, 33, 155–172.

Johnson, G. T. The *future has a past: Race, politics, and memory in Afro-Chicano Los Angeles. Unpublished book manuscript*.

Johnson, G. T. (2005). Hip Hop. In S. Oboler & D. J. González. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*. (pp. 299–302). New York: Oxford University Press.

Johnson, G. T. (2006). 'Sobre las Olas': A Mexican genius of borderlands jazz and the legacy for ethnic studies. *Comparative American Studies*, 6, 225–240.

Johnson-Feelings, D. (1995). *Presenting Laurence Yep*. New York: Twayne Publishers.

Johnson-Webb, K. D. (1996). North Carolina communities in transition: The Hispanic influx. *The North Carolina Geographer*, 5, 21–40.

Johnson-Webb, K. D. (2003). *Recruiting Hispanic labor: Immigrants in nontraditional roles*. New York: LFB Scholarly Pub.

Jones, L. A. (1989). *Minorities and cancer*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Jones, R. S. (2001). Black Indian relations: An overview of the scholarship. *Transforming Anthropology*, 10, 2–16.

Karenga, M. (1998). Black and Latino relations: Context, challenge and possibilities. In I. Reed. *Multi-America: Essays on cultural wars and cultural peace*. (pp. 196–200). New York: Viking Books.

Kearney, R. (1998). *African American views the Japanese: Solidarity or sedition?* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Kelsey, G. D. (1973). *Social ethics among southern Baptists*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.

Lewis, M. A. (1982). *Introduction to the Chicano novel*. Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Lowery, L. S. (1991). *Stuart Davis: American painter*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Lowery, R. M. (2000). *Immigrants in children's literature*. New York: Peter Lang.

Mandel, B. (1963). *Samuel Gompers: A biography*. Yellow Spring, OH: Antioch Press.

McHenry, D. F. (1975). *Micronesia, trust betrayed: Altruism vs. self interest in American foreign policy*. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Miles, T A. (2009). "Circular reasoning": Recentering Cherokee women in the antiremoval campaigns. *American Quarterly*, 61, 221–243.

Miles, T. A., & Holland, S. P. (2008). *Crossing waters, crossing worlds: The African diaspora in Indian country*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Miles, T. A. (2005). *Ties that bind: The story of an Afro-Cherokee family in slavery and freedom. Berkeley*: University of California Press.

Moore, B. L. (2003). *Serving our country: Japanese American women in the military during World War II*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Morris, M. D. (1985). *Immigration—the beleaguered bureaucracy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

Morrison, T. (1992). *Playing in the dark: Whiteness and the literary imagination*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Moss, K. (2003). *The color of class: Poor whites and the paradox of privilege*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Naylor, C. E. (2008). *African Cherokees in Indian territory: From chattel to citizens*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Norment, N. (1994). *Contrastive analysis of organizational struggles and cohesive elements in Native and ESL, Chinese, English, and Spanish writings*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University.

Rampersad, A. (1969). *Melville's Israel Potter, A pilgrimage and progress*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1969

Rich, R. C. (1996). *The politics of minority coalitions: Race, ethnicity, and shared uncertainties*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Rooks, C. T. (2001). Alaska's Multicultural Asian families Alaska: Not just at the margins. In T. K. Williams & C. L. Nakashima. *The sum of our parts: Mixed heritage Asian Americans*. (pp. 71–80). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Schrems, M. P. (2003). *A freedom to suit themselves: Negotiating Mashpee Indian political identity on Cape Cod, 1746–1834*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Boston University.

Scott, N. A. (1973). *Three American moralists: Mailer, Bellow, Trilling*. Notre Dame, ID: University of Notre Dame Press.

Smith, J. O. (1987). *The politics of racial inequality: A systematic comparative macro-analysis from the colonial period to 1970*. New York: Greenwood.

Snead, J. A. (1986). *Figures of division: William Faulkner's major novels*. New York: Methuen.

Sowell, T. (1978). *Essay and data on American ethnic groups*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.

Sowell, T. (1981). *Ethnic America: A history*. New York: Basic Books.

Sowell, T. (1975). *Race and economics*. New York: D. McKay Co.

Spaulding, S. R. (2007). *The crisis of white imagination: Towards the literary abolition of whiteness*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Purdue University.

Spigner, C., & Gran-O'Donnell, S. (2001). Establishing baseline information on cigarette smoking behavior from ethnic-specific groups of Asian American and Pacific Islanders youth in Seattle, Washington, 1996–1998. *Asian American Pacific Islander Journal of Health*, 9, 34–39.

Stewart, E. (1993). Communication between African Americans and Korean Americans: Before and after the Los Angeles riots. *Amerasia Journal*, 19, 23–53.

Stanford, E. P. (1992). *Diversity: New approaches to ethnic minority aging*. Amityville, NY: Baywood Pub. Co.

Swain, C. M. 2002). *The new white nationalism in America: Its challenges to integration*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tate, M. (1968). *Hawaii: Reciprocity or annexation*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Tate, M. (1965). *The United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom: A political history*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Taylor, Q. (1991). Blacks and Asians in a white city: Japanese Americans and African Americans in Seattle, 1890–1940. *Western Historical Quarterly*, 22, 401–429.

Thandeka. (2001). *Learning to be white: Money, race and God in America*. New York: Continuum.

Thornton, M. C. (1996). U.S. News magazine images of Black-Asian relationships. *Communication Review*, 1, 497–519.

Tolliver, W. (2000). *Henry James as a biographer: A self among others*. New York: Garland.

Tuggle, M. (1997). *Evolution of John Dewey's conception of philosophy and his notion of truth* Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Vaughn, B. E., & Vinson, B. (2007). Unfinished migrations: From the Mexican South to the American South—Impressions on Afro-Mexican migration to North Carolina. In D.J. Davis. *Beyond slavery; The multilayered legacy of Africans in Latin America and the Caribbean*. (pp. 223–245). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Wailoo, K. (2006). *The troubled dream of genetic medicine: Ethnicity and innovation in Tay-Sachs, cystic fibrosis, and sickle cell disease*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Walters, R. W. (2003). *White nationalism, Black interests: Conservative public policy and the Black community*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Welburn, R. (2001). *Roanoke and wampum: Topics in Native American heritage and literature* New York: Peter Lang.

Wesley, C. H. (1937). *The collapse of the Confederacy*. Washington, DC: Associated Publishers.

Whaley, D. E. (2006). *Black bodies/yellow masks: The orientalist aesthetic in hip-hop and Black visual culture*. In H. Raphael-Hernandez & S. Steen. *AfroAsian encounters: Culture, history, politics*. (pp. 188–203). New York: New York University Press.

Wilson, C. C. (1985). *Minorities and media: Diversity and the end of mass communication*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Wilson, R. A. (1950). *Negro and Indian relations in five civilized tribes from 1865 to 1907*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa.

Wood, J. H. (1979). *Conestoga crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1790*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Yancey, G. A. (2004). *What white looks like: African-American philosophers on the whiteness question*. New York: Routledge.

Yancey, G. A. (2003). Who is white? Latinos, Asians, and the new Black /nonblack divide. Boulder, CO: L. Rienner.

Yarbrough, F. A. (2008). *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the nineteenth century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Young, M. (1993). *Mules and dragons: Popular culture images in the selected writings of African-American and Chinese-American women writers*. Westport CT: Greenwood.

A Gender Comparison of Resiliency Among Older African American Katrina Survivors

ERMA LAWSON—UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

Abstract

In the past decade, resiliency among African Americans has been a major research topic. This paper explored the resilience of older African American Katrina survivors, specifically investigating gender coping strategies. Using in-depth interviews of older African American Katrina survivors, the study findings revealed that older African American Katrina survivors relied on a Higher Power to cope with the hurricane and its aftermath. Without exception, the study participants reported that their faith was essential to their coping with the tragedy. That connection to a Higher Power, though, did not necessarily translate into church membership. In addition to the survivors' relationship with God, the study found that gender coping strategies evolved. Though, historically, African Americans have engaged in Bible-reading over the generations, the study found that many of the males read inspirational books written by non–African-American authors. This finding suggests a convergence of traditionally African American religious materials with those of their White American counterparts. The implications of these findings to the coping literature focusing on African Americans are discussed.

Introduction

In the past decade, resiliency among African Americans has been a major research topic. For example, studies have explored the resiliency of African American military families (Kaslow, 1993; McCubbin et al., 1998), investigations have documented the resiliency of African American families in general (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000; McAdoo, 2007), and previous research has examined psychological and social adjustment following a life-threatening event (Becker & Newsom, 2005; Brown & Keith, 2003; Bullard, 1990; Ortega, Rosenheck, Alegria, & Desai, 2000).

Although studies have indicated that older Black people exhibit post-disaster cultural resiliency philosophies (Rubinstein, Kilbride, & Nagy, 1992), other research has reported that older racial/ethnic minorities experience a severe post-event disadvantage (Sundet & Mermelstein, 1996; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000).

Few studies have explored the coping strategies of older African Americans following a natural disaster. As a result, scant attention has been paid to gendered coping strategies among African Americans. Most studies have assumed that older men and women develop similar coping resources and cultural strengths due to exposure to social marginality (Dunlap, Johnson, Golub, & Wesley, 2000; Ellison, Hummer, Cormier, & Rogers, 2000; Masten, 2001; Mattis, 2000, 2004; Steffen, Hinderliter, Blumenthal, & Sherwood, 2001). This article pays particular attention to gendered coping variations while exploring the capacity of African Americans to rebound following one of the deadliest hurricanes in U.S. history.

Dr. Lawson, RN, Ph.D. *is an Associate professor at the University of North Texas. Her research has explored the relationship between family structure and ill health. She has published in major scholarly journals. She is the first author of Black Men and Divorce, Sage Publications. Currently, she is exploring the psycho-social context of heart transplantation among African Americans.*

Katrina, a category 5 hurricane, caused catastrophic damage (Campanella, 2006; Louisiana Department of Health and Hospitals, 2006). Breached levees flooded 80% of New Orleans, resulting in $75 billion of damages. Katrina was responsible for 1,417 deaths (Roig-Franzia & Husa, 2005; U.S. Census Bureau, 2005). Between 3,000 and 5,000 people were missing, and 1.5 million were displaced as of October 2005. Approximately 50,000 households comprising mostly poor, Black American residents had no plans to return to New Orleans (Herring, 2006; Mann, 2006). If that number is accurate, Katrina-induced migration will be the largest internal migration in a generation (U.S. House of Representatives, 2006).

As the New Orleans levee system collapsed, the aftermath of Katrina deteriorated into a social debacle. Thousands of people, mostly Black and poor, many of them older men and women, were trapped in the New Orleans Superdome and the city's convention center or on rooftops. They suffered without electricity, water, or food. Older residents plummeted to the bottom of the Katrina response priority list. Many bodies that emerged from the floodwaters were of people age 50 years or older (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005). Furthermore, corpses that remained in the streets, hospitals, nursing homes, collapsed houses, and on porches were of mostly poor, older African Americans. Sadly, rescuers later found more than 154 bodies in nursing homes (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005).

The consequences of Katrina were grave; 1.5 million people decided where to live or work and pondered if they would return to their homes. While coping with an incompetent Federal Emergency Management Administration (FEMA), they also grieved deaths of family members and friends and dealt with survivors' guilt. The relatively few professional survivors confronted temporary unemployment while adjusting to an identity as an evacuee. Property owners often refused to accept FEMA temporary housing vouchers. Older Katrina survivors were often forced to live in isolated upper-class retirement apartments, where residents resented living next to poor African Americans (CNN.com, 2005; Louisiana Department of Health and Hospitals, 2006; Mann, 2000). Thus, survivors were distressed from Hurricane Katrina, traumatized by breeched levees, exploited by a federal agency created to provide assistance, and often lived in unwelcome retirement complexes (CNN.com, 2005; Louisiana Department of Health and Hospitals, 2006; U.S. House of Representatives, 2006).

The way in which older African Americans coped with Hurricane Katrina may be related to historical social marginality and stigmatization. According to Wilkinson (1977), African Americans not only confront racism, but they are also exposed to ritualized acts that create feelings of being discredited and stigmatized. Operating as configurations of sacred ideologies of White supremacy within a patriarchal social structure, African American men and women adapt to an identity maligned by the dominant sector. One mode of reducing color- or gender-based stigma is through spirituality.

Numerous studies have documented that African Americans typically seek comfort from religion or spiritual activities to a greater extent than do White Americans (Cone, 1774; Ellison, 1993; Klonoff & Landrine, 1997; Mancini & Bonanno, 2006; Wright, 1967). Black people often used prayer, gospel music, and church attendance to endure the stressors of life (Bennett, 1986; Grier & Cobb, 1969; Jennings, 1997). However, few studies have explored within African American variations of spirituality as a component of resiliency to cope with Hurricane Katrina.

Katrina survivors' relationship to a Higher Power is particularly important because originally Christianity, as a mechanism of social power, controlled Black slaves (Cone, 1974; Wilmore, 2004; Wright, 1967). African Americans have undergone a type of treatment that has produced a unique spiritual experience, both personal and collective—an experience that deserved analysis and articulation in view of Hurricane Katrina.

This study aims to fill this void. Hurricane Katrina offers a unique opportunity to examine coping strategies associated with a major tragedy. Disasters that evoke extreme and widespread damage to property create serious and ongoing economic difficulties; involve high loss of life or threat to life; and often trigger severe mental distress. Hurricane Katrina embodied such characteristics.

The purpose of this article is twofold. First, it examines the resiliency of older African American Katrina survivors through a prospective multi-qualitative research design. Second, it considers race-specific coping strategies among older Katrina survivors, paying particular attention to African American historical spiritual expressions as a form of resiliency.

Review of the Literature

Religious and Spiritual Traditions

Historically, belief in a Higher Power has played an important role in the lives of African Americans (Ben-

nett, 1986; Lawson, 1998; Taylor & Chatters, 1991). Belief in a Higher Power provided hope and group identity throughout 250 years of slavery. Because the church was the only institution that African Americans were permitted to operate and organize for a number of years, it provided social and emotional support (Bennett, 1986; Cone, 1974). Religious traditions have persisted over time, geographic locations, and social classes. Currently, 82% of African Americans believe that the church assists to alleviate the conditions of Black people (Chatters, Taylor, & Lincoln, 1999).

Studies have documented that Whites' and Black Americans' religious expressions are different. First, Blacks are more likely to believe in the curative power of prayer compared to other ethnic groups (Klonof & Landrine, 1997); research also shows that Black people pray more frequently than White people do (Taylor, Chatters, Jayakody, & Levin, 1996). African Americans exhibit higher levels of church attendance, strongly identify with their church, and are more likely to be members of a church-related group. An analysis of several national data sets by Chatters and colleagues found that 8 out of 10 African Americans reported that religious beliefs are very important to them, and 44% said they "almost always" sought spiritual comfort through religion (Chatters, Levin, & Taylor, 1992).

Second, the expressions of daily divine interference and revelation are more common among Black people than White people (Bennett, 1986; Chatters, Taylor, & Lincoln, 1999). For example, among many African Americans singing, praying, and dancing provide examples that a Higher Power intervenes in their daily lives. Prayers, suggests Wilmore (2004), are a direct link to God about problems in daily life. According to Taylor and Chatters (1991), 78% of a nationally based representative sample of African Americans reported praying almost daily requesting divine guidance to solve problems. A typical problem-solving phase among some African Americans is "God told me to do . . ." or "God showed me in a dream to do. . . ." Older African Americans often trust a Higher Power to provide direction, and they receive spiritual comfort through prayer. African American reliance on a Divine Power operates irrespective of socioeconomic and educational level (Cone, 1974; Ellison & Taylor, 1996; Haight, 1998; Krause, 2002; Nye, 1992; Taylor & Chatters, 1991).

Specific Religious Practices and Coping

Evidence suggests that various aspects of spirituality are particularly beneficial for the well-being of African Americans (Bierman, 2006; Black, 1999; Wilmore, 2004). First, African American women have been found to use prayer to cope with chronic illnesses, emotional distress, and victimization (Koenig, McCullough, & Larson, 2001; Utsey, Bolden, Lanier, & Williams, 2007). Approximately 50% of African Americans reported requesting that others pray for them daily (Klonoff & Landrine, 1997). Although African Americans often pursue more spiritual activities compared to that of White Americans, few studies have examined religious coping gender variation.

Second, reading the Scriptures provides a source of comfort during stress (Wilmore, 2004). Bible reading reminds readers of God's availability and conveys an equality of persons (Cone, 1974; Nye, 1992; Wright, 1967). That is, heaven welcomes all skin colors. Previous studies have shown that Bible reading assisted Blacks to cope with oppression, through the development of a holistic and-personal-theology (Cone, 1974; Ellison & Taylor, 1996; Krause & Ellison, 2003; Wright, 1967).

Religion and spirituality as coping mechanisms are illustrated across disciplines (Smith, 1994; Taylor & Chatters, 1991). African American women who survive domestic violence are more likely to use prayer as a coping strategy, and they benefit more from prayer compared to their White counterparts (Hill, Hawkins, Raposa, & Carr, 1995). In a study of partner abuse, 58% of African American women reported high spirituality (Constantine, Alleyne, Caldwell; et al., 2000). Survivors of childhood violence also used spirituality and prayer as coping strategies. Furthermore, in their study on coping responses following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Constantine and colleagues (2005) found that African American respondents reported that prayer was their preferred coping strategy. African Americans report using religion to cope with breast cancer (Bourjolly, 1998; Koffman, Morgan, Edmonds, Speck, & Higginson, 2008); Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV); substance abuse (Brome, Owens, Allen, &Vevaina, 2000); and stressful life events, such as divorce, smoking, exercise, and obesity (James, Hudson, & Campbell, 2003; Lawson & Thompson, 1999;Reicks, Mills, & Henry, 2004).

Although researchers have documented the influence of religious practices and spiritual beliefs among African Americans, few studies have explored how religion and spirituality enable older African American men and women to rebound following a natural disaster.

Methods

The study participants resided in a residential adult senior citizen facility in Texas that housed some Katrina survivors. Other residents at this facility were upper-middle-class, mostly White senior citizens. The facility offered spacious apartments that provided Katrina survivors with one- or two-bedroom, one-bathroom units.

Subjects

The investigator purposely selected study participants to include individuals who had been dislocated by Hurricane Katrina. The inclusion criteria were no mental or physical disability, no previous suicide attempts, and no current use of illicit drugs. All of the Katrina survivors who met the inclusion criteria were invited to participate in the study.

Data Procedures

Prior to the data collection, an informational meeting with the facility's director was held. The director selected a list of residents who fit the inclusion criteria. A recruitment meeting was held; 20 residents attended, 15 volunteered for the study. However, as the study progressed, other residents approached the team to "tell their story." Three more males were included.

Data Collection

At the beginning of the study, focus groups were held. However, following the first interview, it was apparent that this was not the best method to use with the study population. First, each member of the focus group required 4 to 6 hours to talk about a devastating event. Additionally, some respondents planned to return to New Orleans within a week and, therefore, wanted to talk about their experiences during the initial interview. Consequently, interviews with one individual at a time were conducted, tape-recorded, and transcribed verbatim.

The respondents were asked to take part in three interviews, each approximately 1 week apart. Because of their relocation status, some of the survivors were unable to participate in all three interviews. Those respondents who planned to remain in Texas participated in the three interviews, whereas those who returned to New Orleans or relocated to other cities participated in two interviews.

The researcher selected times and a location convenient for the respondents. All of the interviews took place in the respondents' living rooms, and lasted 1 to 3 hours, typically on a Saturday morning. After the interviews ended, some respondents continued to talk for 2 hours or more.

The data collection procedures occurred more than 10 months, which began 1 month following the respondents' arrival. Without exception, the respondents indicated they enjoyed the process and viewed the interviews as "therapy," or an opportunity to mentally process their experiences. A typical comment was, "It helps to get it out." Several respondents said it was "not good to hold everything in."

The Interviews

A semi-structured interview schedule sought to understand the experiences of older Katrina survivors. The first question established rapport, and follow-up questions focused on coping skills and the failure of the federal, state, and local governments to coordinate service delivery. The first interview included the following items:

- A number of people have coped with traumatic events. Tell us how you have coped with previous traumatic situations.
- Tell us the messages you received about coping in your family.
- Walk us through your experiences of Hurricane Katrina.
- Tell us how you coped with each phase of Katrina.

The second interview elaborated on the themes presented in the first interview. Following the second interview, a number of respondents reported the following: "I never realized how much I have to say." Most respondents cried during the interviews as they recalled the effects of Katrina on their lives, and not one said that the interviews involved too much of their time. Many of the respondents talked much longer than expected—sometimes as long as 6 hours. Several of the survivors telephoned following the interviews "just to talk." Furthermore, a few of them requested specific favors, such as rides to church or to the local shopping mall to help relieve social isolation. The third interview involved continued re-defining and conceptualizing the

themes that emerged from the second interview. To preserve the anonymity of those interviewed, all names and identifying information have been changed. Each person interviewed has a different name and appropriately disguised life circumstances.

Analysis and Interpretation

Each in-depth interview yielded between 35 and 53 transcript pages, an average 50 pages per interview; the transcripts were coded separately, thus producing a total of about 60 codes from spirituality themes. Afterward, the themes were collapsed and The Ethnograph, a computerized qualitative analysis program, determined the consistency of those schemes. Table 1 depicts sample coding of interview responses collapsed by theme.

Participant Observation

In addition to interviewing the study participants, the researcher actively observed the respondents in their social world. For instance, one respondent was accompanied to the beauty salon and another to the movies. One respondent was the investigator's guest at a restaurant. Throughout the study processes, the researcher spoke to the respondents weekly regarding relocating issues. For instance, one respondent requested information regarding churches, exercise facilities, and shopping malls. Because many of the respondents' family members were living throughout the metropolis, some needed specific transportation advice. Significant events affecting the participants were observed and recorded, such as town hall meetings as well as personal events such as birthday celebrations, moving into a new apartment, or returning to New Orleans. During each of these occasions, prayers, Scripture reading, and testimonies were held. With the interview statements alone, one might wonder whether such religious beliefs and practices were exaggerations.

Table 1 Identified Coping Strategies

COPING THEMES		EXAMPLES
Constant Divine communication	Women	"I talk to God all day long? "God is always with me and I constantly thank Him."
	Men	Bible-reading: "I read the scriptures everyday."
Specific Coping Strategies		
	Men	(1) Church Attendance: "I go to church and do not focus on self." (2) Testifying and Witnessing: "I shared My testimony at the Superdome." *(3)* Thought-Blocking: "I try to forget the pain." (4) Providing Information: "I told them where to get men clothing."
	Women	(1) Relying on personal, family, and resources:"God just sat my children Right down on the steps . . It was Like a miracle. God put Our family together. (2) Cognitive Redefinition: "I wanted the experience. It made me stronger." (3) Construed positive meaning from the experience: "I am better off because of Katrina." (4) Crying: "When things build up, I See the tears coming." (5) Develop fictitious Kin: Helping To Heal 'We took care of a strangers. It took our minds off our problems."

Reflexivity in the Study

The aforementioned memos were distinct from the field notes recorded following data collection. Although a preliminary data analysis occurs during data collection, reflexive analyses sensitize the researcher to particular themes and thus inform data analysis and interpretation. Murphy et al. (Murphy, Dingwall, Greatbach et al., 1998) emphasized that *reflexivity* is the way in which the researchers' socialization and personal biography influences data analysis.

Reflexivity suggests that researchers' assumptions are explicit. In the present study, racial identity (African American) and early socialization were explored. As a member of the African American community, I had much in common with the Katrina survivors. I, too, sensed heightened vulnerability to the government's response to Katrina and witnessed the government's failure to respond to desperate cries of help of mostly Black men, women, and children sprawled on ragged roofs of flooded homes. I thought, surely this is not the United States of America, the richest and most powerful nation on the globe, leaving some of the poorest and most defenseless Black citizens to die. I thought about how many times Black people died in the military for a country that had ignored and forgotten their family members during a national crisis. Although the respondents suffered tremendous losses, their heartaches were in the realization and pain of knowing that they and their children still live in a democratic society that responds to national disasters based on skin color.

Although I realized that differences exist between the Katrina survivors and me, many of the respondents grew-up in marginalized communities where mainstream society paid little attention to basic services. Similar to my experiences, many of the respondents grew up attending churches that emphasized the equality of humankind. However, following Sunday services, they encountered the persistent ideology of White privilege and social discrediting, which base social meaning on color and gender. I, too, felt the respondents' pain when many said that for White America to understand Katrina, it must recognize that so much time has passed and so little has changed.

Another factor that influenced interpretation of the study data was social class. Because of their lower socioeconomic status, the study participants likely would have had limited, if any, access to personal transportation during a hurricane evacuation. Furthermore, survivors reported that they were more likely to distrust public information and local governmental forecasts via the mainstream media. They relied on Black radio stations, Christian Black stations, or word of mouth for news. I, too, understood the avoidance of news outlets that constantly bombard the airways debasing Black people while presenting broadcasts that superiorize the accomplishments of White people. According to Murphy et al., researchers may be blinded to the data if they fail to recognize differences and similarities between the researcher and respondents.

Results

Sample Demographics

The sample comprised 15 adults, 5 men and 10 women. Overall, the sample consisted of Katrina survivors age 55 years and older. The majoritywere widowed, and one participant experienced a -Katrina-related death of a spouse. Most of the participants had relocated from the poorest parish of New Orleans.

"Lord, Is the World Ending?"

The following is, in part, the narrative of Ms. Payne, a 56-year-old female Katrina survivor:

> I almost fell apart. I woke up and the water was getting higher. We didn't have TV or lights. I am 5 feet and 7 inches and my nephew is 5 feet and 10 inches, and when the water came here, (points to her waist)-we knew it was time to go. I left with just the clothes on my back. I forgot to put on panties and put my teeth in. I was trying to get my sister and nephew out of the house. We left and got to the top of the bridge soaking wet. And I freaked out. I said God, I did not get my grandbabies. I told my sister, you stay here, and I'm gonna walk back to Clayborne. And when I saw people coming that way, they say 'If you go back, you are gonna drown.' So I prayed, screamed, and prayed, 'Lord, please work it out for me.' As I was going down the steps, a man flipped over and just jumped. He committed suicide 'cause he could not deal with it. Then a young lady walked up the same steps with her young baby, and she slipped, fell, and drowned.

Ms. Payne further described horrors of the Superdome. She noted:

> We stood in line for 3 days, and we couldn't get clothes. The whole time, the National Guard did

> not take their hands off their rifles. I felt like they treated us like a bunch of nothing. Well, it was like *Roots*, like my grandmother had to say '*Yes Sir and No Madame*.' It was like a concentration camp. There were floodlights, day and night. We had no place to shower, not even a shower or a place to go to the bathroom. We stood in line for *3* days. They were treating us like a bunch of nothing.

Ms. Payne also recalled that newly captured African women slew their children rather than have them reared as slaves (Hine, 1990; White, 1985; these authors documented that enslaved women resisted sexual oppression through infanticide; mothers killed their children as opposed to allowing them to endure the horrors of slavery). She reported that the infanticide speaks clearly of the options she felt during Katrina. She thought that local, state, and federal governments completely dismissed her life, which symbolized societal disregard of the lives of Black older Katrina survivors. According to Ms. Payne, six generations have passed since slavery, and America's value of her life was similar to that of a Louisiana plantation slave.

"I've Come This Far by Faith"

Katrina survivors dealt with the loss of a home, deaths of family members and friends, or extended separation from one's family while often confronting fatigued and sleep-deprived FEMA workers. Without exception, the respondents reported that their faith in God was their major strategy to cope with "the unknown." Often they reported, "The Good Book says rest, it also says do not give up." A representative comment was, "Everything I went through was because of God. God was there. Without Him, I would not be here. God spared me."

Specifically, Mr. Brown, a 65-year-old widower, emphasized that angels and obedience were stress reducers. He explained, "I believe in angels to rescue me from situations. If you have faith in the Lord and try to be obedient to His name, He will protect you." According to Mr. Brown, angels will provide assistance to "getting back to normal." Although Mr. Brown psychologically guarded himself from emotional humiliation and outright mistreatment by some FEMA workers, he believed in the catholicity of the church that builds on one Higher Power of justice. In his view, Jesus was a liberator, power and love. The paradox of obedience to a higher power as shield against oppression and exposure to experiences of being discredited has its roots in the restriction of opportunities and life chances. According to Cone (1974), the Black experience of existing in a society that indicates you do not belong captures the essence of Black theology and requires resisting social injustice.

The theme of faith was exemplified by the respondents' belief that a Higher Power directly controlled Katrina-related events. Ms. Ross, age 63 and a great grandmother, recalled how faith helped her to survive the levees flooding. She reported, "Then I just said Jesus, it is in your name. What is this? Is the world coming to an end?" Finally, 66-year-old Ms. Baker-specifically stated, "The way I have coped is that I put my faith in Jesus. He is always there with me." Moreover, their faith did not depend on church membership. A typical response was, "I don't go to church anymore, but I believe in God; without Him, I would not be here."

Consistent with previous literature, irrespective of gender, the respondents' faith in God influenced a spiritual response to the initial destruction of Katrina. However, following evacuation to the Superdome and Convention Center, a race-based gendered response evolved. Some respondents asserted that Katrina embodied remnants of "slavery similar to a concentration camp or Black holocaust." They surmised that the FEMA delayed response was ingrained in the collective historical behavioral practices of Euro-Americans. Thus, they concluded that beginning with the theft of labor of Africans in America, the lives of numerous Black people in America have been discounted and devalued.

Constant Communication with a Higher Power

Continual conversation with a Higher Power represented an integral dimension of the respondents' resiliency. Although men and women reported daily praying or meditation, gender differences emerged in the type of constant communication to a Higher Power. Compared to men, females were more likely to report direct dialogues with a Higher Power. A representative comment was, "There is not a minute which goes by that I do not talk to God." Elaborating on this theme of constant communication, Ms. Rodgers, age 59, commented, "I go to bed and talk to *Him*. I'd be thanking *Him* from the bottom of my heart." Mrs. Grant, age 69, from a family of fourth generation New Orleanians, added, "I talk to God daily; I say the Lord's Prayer and ask the Lord to watch over me." In fact, Ms. Henderson, a 60-year-old divorcee, provided a poignant narrative of

talking to God during Katrina. She recalled:

> I thank God 'cause I have a home in New Orleans that didn't get destroyed. I am blessed . . . I slept on the bridge in soaking wet clothes. Even during day one, we could not use the bathroom 'cause there were no lights. We stayed in the shelter for 3 weeks, and I was the first to leave the shelter. You see, the Good Lord put me right here in this apartment 'cause I was talking to Him all the time.

Ms. Henderson also discussed personal conversations with a Higher Power that produced results. She attributed going to the most organized shelter to the grace of God. She also stated, "I talk to Him all the time. I don't care where I'm at. I talk to him and tell him what I need and why I need it. I went to one of the best shelters 'cause of prayer." Ms. Payne and Ms. Baker also remarked that when they are anxious, they excuse themselves to "talk to Him."

On the other hand, men were more likely to commune with a Higher Power through reading the Bible, inspirational books, and devotional books. Mr. Bolds, a 60-year-old man who suffered from hypertension, explained reading the Scriptures as he awaited rescue from the rooftop. He reported, "Every day, I read Psalm 91—'He who dwells in the shelter of the Most High will abide in the shadow of the Almighty.' Reading the Bible bolsters my faith." Mr. Jackson, a 68-year-old retired truck driver, also reported reading daily Psalm 23; others indicated that friends and family members mailed or phoned specific Bible verses to them to read.

Some men read specific authors such as Joel Osteen, Kevin Ross, TD Jakes, and Joyce Meyers as books of encouragement. Mr. Brown, age 56, remarked: "I liked the author Kevin Ross because every page of his book has meaning." In agreement, Mr. Davidson, a 56-year-old high school teacher, explained, "I am an avid reader. I am reading *The Purpose Driven Life*. I read a chapter every day. There are 40 chapters." Without exception, men reported that such books, "keep me going." Mr. Roberts, age 65, described his morning routine of reading Joyce Meyers. He stated:

> I spend a good half an hour reading the Scripture then reading Joyce Meyers. She doesn't mind letting you know that she is still in the process, too. If Joyce Meyers was here today, she would teach us the doctrine of hope. Hope in the Lord. Depend on the Lord and pray; and trust in Him. Get closer to Him.

On the other hand, two religious devotionals such as *The Daily Word* or *Guideposts* provided inspiration and encouragement to the women even though they also read the Bible. Ms. Ross explained, "I read meditations every day, a little meditation in order to survive and to go on. For instance, [*reading from the magazine*] this one reads, 'I want to be worthy of Thy blessings of happiness and good fortune. So, please let me walk each day in Thy presence.' These verses help me to stay cool 'cause I have to concentrate on me."

Ms. Ross and others perceived that daily religious magazines help them to stay "cool," translated to mean that outer circumstances would not create inner emotional turmoil. According to Cone (1974), similar beliefs and perceptions assisted Blacks to endure the oppressive and dehumanizing system of chattel slavery.

Gendered Resilient Coping Strategies

Studies have reported that males cope differently than women (Hagedoom et al., 2000; Rohrbaugh et al., 2002; Tunistra et al., 2004). Previous research has documented that women experience more distress than do men when coping with an illness or caregiver role. Such results are consistent with research, which reports that women more often than men; express thoughts and focus on others rather than self during a crisis. The men in this study often employed the following strategies: (1) church attendance, (2) testifying and witnessing, and (3) thought-blocking or forgetting the event, which included watching endless sport events on television. Mr. Evans described testifying and witnessing to reduce stress at the Superdome. "I met a minister who sat with me, and we prayed. We discussed the Bible, and he knew my pastor. He witnessed to me, and I shared my testimonies to him." Mr.Willis,a58-year-old; unmarried male, father of three girls, also recalled church attendance as well as thought-blocking to cope with Katrina. He suffered a mild heart attack during the evacuation and was rushed to cardiac surgery. He explained, "It was rough, and I was shell-shocked after the helicopters rescued me from the rooftop. I was air vac to the airport; saw old people on the floor urinating and defecating on themselves. I felt lost, lonely, and scared. I tried to forget a few things, and I went to church."

Mr. Willis also stated that the deaths of his siblings were painful, but the suffering of his ancestors and Jesus Christ provided the encouragement to live. Among 10 siblings, he said that one brother was killed by a gunshot wound, another brother fell off a third floor balcony and died Christmas Eve, and a sister died of a stroke. However, he repeatedly said, "I can't give

up 'cause my people put up with worse conditions in slavery; when Black people were hung, they suffered. Jesus was hung on the cross and suffered." The respondents' phrase "I can't give up" denoted that suicide and "dying due to the lack of will to live" were not options. In their view, evil represented death of the spirit, and they were determined to resist evil as a Christian commandment.

According to studies (Cone, 1974; Wilmore, 2004), African Americans often interpret the Bible as deliverance and hope. The belief in the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and the Old Testament, which tells how God fought for justice, allowed some Black male Katrina survivors to confront reality in which suffering, grace, and liberation were inexplicably linked. Consequently, by analogy, Katrina and its aftermath was transformed into a modern-day Egypt with its appropriate Pharaoh who held Katrina survivors in bondage. Thus, male survivors conceded that every Israeli must keep fighting until victory is won. Such perceptions have roots in slavery, which developed resiliency confronting race-based suffering.

In contrast, women survivors often coped by relying on personal, family, and community resources. Women often used cognitive redefinition; that is, they reframed the stress of Katrina in ways that were more favorable. Ms. Washington, a 63-year-old female, described the meaning of Katrina for emotional growth. She reported:

> We left the apartment and stayed with friends until the storm passed. When the storm came through, I did not hear anything; that is how hard I sleep. And, the next morning, when we got up, that is when we started to see the water. Since it was not raining, we thought the water would go down, but it kept getting higher and higher. We got our luggage and got in a boat to go to the Superdome, and the boat started to sink. We made it to the bridge and slept on the bridge the first night. You know I went through this; now I wanted the experience. That was the reason I wanted to do this, to make me a stronger person.

Ms. Washington also talked of Katrina as a symbol of character building. She stated, "You never know if you are going to be by yourself, and there is nobody but you, and you gotta learn how to live. I wanted to go through this." Some female respondents accepted the misery of Katrina as acceptable and predictable. According to Grier and Cobb (1978), African Americans often develop cultural depression as a protection against reliance on the emotional strength of others. Ms. Washington often asked, "How many Black or White people can really open their arms to the suffering of Black Katrina survivors?"

Of interest, some women, unlike men, construed positive meaning from the experience and stated, "I am a better person because of Katrina." The genius of this thinking, according to theologians, resides in its re-interpretation of adverse conditions to create an optimistic world view based on human justice.

Second, women cried and moaned to cope with the aftermath of Katrina. Ms. Post described crying episodes when she was debased by the National Guard. She explained:

> I was afraid of the National Guard 'cause they cursed. Most of them said, 'Get your *f*___ ass over there.' I did not see my daughter, I just cried and cried. I lost my purse, and it meant a lot to me. I cherish things like that.

Indeed, cursed by the National Guard; and enduring extreme conditions at the Superdome, some women cried because words could not convey the depth of their hurt.

Ms. Baker also said that crying was a stress reliever, similar to dancing and exercising. She explained, "When stuff gets in me that build ups. Sometimes it can build up and then I feel tears coming. Like when they made it so we could not get any help, and the helicopters were going over, and they ignored the babies out there." Finally, Ms. Ross revealed crying during specific incidents at the Superdome. "I cried 'cause the police starting to committing suicide when they could not find their families. Then they let the prisoners out, but what about children and old people; I just cried. " Finally, Ms. Jones, age 55, cried and related the following: "I was sitting under a spotlight at night and sat in the sun all day, and I could not even get a cold glass of water. I only could get some hot water that the National Guard threw at me, and I just cried 'cause I just wanted some cold water to drink."

Overall, women reported emotional distress associated with seeing individuals commit suicide, missing family members being traumatized by the National Guard, and dealing with the "water." As most women agreed, "Water makes you heavy. It weighs you down and caused women carrying babies to die." For innumerable Black women, children and grandchildren are symbols of feminine identity. It is highly probable that at the psychosocial level of coping with Katrina, the inability to find family members and viewing the

deaths of women and children had a profound effect on female survivors' coping strategies to create fictitious kin, which can be viewed as an essential historical component of resiliency.

Fictitious Kin and Helping as Healing

A majority of the female respondents adjusted to Katrina by developing fictive kin. According to McAdoo (2007), this pattern of resiliency provides a protective cover for entire families. Ms. Powell, age 60, explained how she cared for an elderly woman, age 70, at the Superdome. She reported:

> We made a little homeless shelter, like cardboards. And when we got there, a lady sat there. I asked her, 'Where is your family?' And she said, 'I don't know.' She was in her 70s, and I took care of her until the last day, until the buses came.

Ms. Powell made arrangements to transfer the "old lady" to the hospital.

On the other hand, males assisted others directly and sporadically. One male respondent distributed food and cooked a Louisiana meal for a man's widow, who had died from a heart attack after arriving in Texas. According to the respondent, a meal and a party are the ties that bind. Additionally, some of the educated survivors provided assistance to those who could not read, completing massive FEMA paperwork.

Providing information was an important function provided by male survivors. For instance, Mr. Davidson and Mr. Jackson distributed the latest FEMA news; researched the advantages and disadvantages of FEMA trailers; and provided information on where to get "nice men's clothing; good barber-shops; and great churches to visit." Overall, Katrina survivors helped each other, and the performance of such tasks boosted their self-esteem and enabled them—as they viewed it—to fulfill the will of God. Extensive research has shown that helping others has been an established part of the history of African Americans, rooted in social marginalization and disenfranchisement, which represented an essential component of resiliency.

Follow-Up

Thirteen months after Hurricane Katrina made landfall, most of the respondents reported that they were still dealing with the same issues as at the time of the interviews, such as the FEMA deadlines for housing support. One respondent remarked, "A lot of people are still having housing problems, and a lot of them cannot live alone. New Orleans is still stalling in rebuilding." They described themselves as having their lives on hold.

The respondents grieved the loss of their city, community, and church: "There is nothing to go back to; no jobs or homes." Yet, their belief in a Higher Power remains. A representative comment was, "I am trusting in the Lord. He will guide and lead me. I pray, and reading keeps me spiritually uplifted." Two and half years post-Katrina, a large majority of the respondents suffered. Even though they remained optimistic, one female respondent developed a severe skin rash upon return to New Orleans; others faced new medical diagnoses such as diabetes, heart disease, arthritis, back problems, and extreme fatigue. Moreover, to date, national and state governments have failed to acknowledge the suffering of Katrina survivors through an official moment of silence on the second year anniversary of Katrina and presently.

Almost 3 years after Katrina, the survivors who returned to New Orleans are continually victimized. First, many sections of New Orleans have not rebounded from Hurricane Katrina. The city's murder rate has averaged a killing every other day. Second, high formaldehyde levels were found in the trailers used to house the survivors of Hurricane Katrina. On the third anniversary of Katrina, a number of New Orleans residents prepared for Hurricane Gustav; and evacuated to Texas, and others survived Hurricane Ike.

Black Marginalization, Theology, and Resiliency

The resiliency of African Americans, in part, is rooted in spiritual philosophies and buttressed by the perception of a Higher Power as an advocate for social justice. According to Cone (1974), African Americans' spirituality expresses struggle for the liberation of the oppressed. African American religious beliefs, therefore, often encompass a Higher Power as a liberator. This view of God represents not only personal salvation but also social deliverance and incorporates opposition to negative cultural images.

Seeking to follow Bible-based principles, Katrina survivors' vision of Christianity included a political ideology of activism. Thus, many survivors lobbied Congress; sent faxes and e-mails to state and local representatives; attended conferences and workshops; and conducted town hall meetings in Texas, Mississippi, and New Orleans. Many also participated in Katrina fund-raising activities sponsored by the Association of

Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN). Therefore, terms such as *spirituality* and *religiosity* fail to capture the depth of faith and understanding of the resiliency of some African American Katrina survivors. I argue, therefore, that such resiliency embedded within Christian principles should be viewed as cultural capital responsive to an ideology of White supremacy and social subordination.

Discussion and Implications

The study findings revealed that older African American Katrina survivors relied on a Higher Power to cope with the hurricane and its aftermath. Without exception, the study participants reported that their faith was essential to their coping with the tragedy. Oddly enough, that connection to a Higher Power did not necessarily translate into church membership. Their constant communication with God did result in spiritual strength.

As a "consequence" of divine interactions, their relationship with God was very personal—as between two people—thus providing them with comfort, inspiration, and guidance.

In addition to the survivors' relationships with God, the study found that gender coping strategies evolved. Historically, African Americans have engaged in Bible-reading over the generations. This study found that many of the males read inspirational books written by non–African-American authors. This finding suggests a convergence of traditionally African American religious materials with those of their White American counterparts.

The time-honored tradition among African Americans of helping others, including elderly people, was clearly a mechanism of resiliency for some Katrina survivors. While women provided extensive help and developed fictive kin, men provided informational assistance. During the Great Depression, residents of a Chicago tenement shared bathroom facilities and exchanged goods and services with elderly tenants. Moreover, altruistically giving of oneself to others can improve quality of life and increase physical health and longevity. However, previous studies have neglected helping others as an essential component of resiliency among African American older Katrina survivors.

Previous research has dubbed the self-curing properties of helping others as a tendency among African Americans to deny mental distress. Moreover, other studies have simplified the connection between religion and the coping responses of African Americans without seeking to understand the gendered complexity of African Americans' spiritual ethos. Consequently, studies have linked church attendance with positive health outcomes but have not considered church attendance as one aspect of African Americans' relationship with a Higher Power. Thus, previous research has failed to view the spiritual ethos of a large number of African Americans as cultural capital and has failed to consider gendered spirituality as a characteristic of resiliency.

A major limitation of the study was that the respondents retrospectively recalled the Katrina experience. However, the study's strength was the use of in-depth interviews to help discover perceived coping strategies immediately on the survivors' arrival in Texas.

Overall, the study findings point to several areas requiring additional research. To identify post-Katrina distress, studies of the hurricane's survivors ought to adopt process-oriented, nonlinear models situated in the lived experiences. Researchers also need to address how physiological measures, spirituality, and coping strategies are interrelated. Finally, researchers need to investigate how divine revelations, divine healing, visions, fasting, and tithing, as well as listening to gospel music and a good sermon, influence the mental health of African Americans. Such coping strategies should be viewed as separate and distinct from church membership. Understanding African Americans' spirituality provides an opportunity to assess resiliency behavioral patterns for other populations.

I would like to thank these courageous survivors of Katrina who shared their stories with honesty, pain, and compassion. I would also like to thank the director of the residential facility who allowed this study.

References

Becker, G., & Newson, E. (2005). Resilience in the face of serious illness among chronically ill African Americans in later life. *The Journal of Gerontology, 60B*, S214–S223.

Bennett, L. Jr. (1986). *Before the mayflower. A history of Black Americans*. Sixth edition. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Inc.

Bierman, A. (2006). Does religion buffer the effects of discrimination on mental health? Differing effects by race. *Journal for Scientific Study of Religion*, *45*, 551–565.

Black, H. K. (1999). Poverty and prayer: Spiritual narratives of elderly African American women. *Review of Religious Research*, *40*, 359–374.

Bourjolly, J. (1998). Differences in religiousness among black and white women with breast cancer. *Social Work Health Care*, *28*, 21–39.

Briere, J., & Elliott, D. (2000). Prevalence, characteristics, and long-term sequelae of natural disaster exposure in the general population. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, *13*, 661–679.

Brome, D. R., Owens, M. D., Allen, K., & Vevaina, T. (2000). An examination of spirituality among African American women in recovery from substance abuse. *Journal of Black Psychology, 26*, 470–86.

Brown, D. R., & Keith, V. (2003). *In and out of our right minds: The mental health of African American women*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Brown, D. R., Gary, L. E., Greene, A. D., & Milburn, N. G. (1992). Patterns of social affiliation as predictors of depressive symptoms among urban blacks. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *33*, 242–253.

Bullard, R. D. (1900). Dumping in Dixie: Race, class, and environmental quality (3rd ed). Boulder, CO: Westview.

Campanella, T. J. (2006). Urban resilience and the recovery of New Orleans. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 72*, 141–147.

Chatters, L., Taylor, R. J., & Lincoln, K. D. (1999). African American religious participation: A multi-sample comparison. *Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion*, *38*, 132–145.

Chatters, L. M., Levin, J. S., & Taylor, R. S. (1992). Antecedents and dimensions of religious involvement among older Black adults. *Journal of Gerontology*, *47*, 269–278.

CNN.com. (2005, October 2). The disaster response: "Magnificent" or "Embarrassment?" Retrieved October 2, 2005, from http://www.cnn.com/2005/WEATHER/09/02/katrina.response/index.html.

Cone, J. H. (1974). The sources and norm of black theory. In C. Eric Lincoln (Ed.), *The Black experience in religion* (pp. 110–125). New York: Anchor Books.

Constantine M. G., Alleyne, V. I., Caldwell L. D. et al. (2005). Coping responses of Asian, Black, and Latino/Latina New York residents following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States. *Cultural Diversity Ethnic Minority Psychology, 11*, 293–308.

Constantine, M., Lewis, E., Conner, L., & Sanchez, D. (2000). Addressing spiritual and religious issues in counseling African Americans: Implications for counselor training and practice. *Counseling and Values*, *45*, 28–38.

Dunlap, E., Johnson, B. D., Golub, A., & Wesley, D. (2000). Intergenerational transmission of conduct norms for drugs, sexual exploitation, and violence as facilitated by mortification of self. *British Journal of Criminology*, *42*, 1–20.

Ellison, C. G. (1993). Religious involvement and self-perception among Black Americans. *Social Forces*, *71*, 1027–1055.

Ellison, C. G., Hummer, R. A., Cormier, S., & Rogers, ?. (2000). Religious coping, ethnicity, and ambulatory blood pressure. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, *22*, 6730–667.

Ellison, C. G., & Taylor, R. J. (1996). Turning to prayer: Social and situational antecedents of religious coping among African Americans. *Review of Religious Research*, *38*, 111–131.

Franklin, A. J., & Boyd-Franklin, N. (2000). Invisibility syndrome: A clinical model of the effects of racism on African American males. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 70, 33–41.

Ginexi, E. M., Weihs, K., Simmens, S. J., & Hoy, D. R. (2000). Natural disaster and depression: A prospective investigation of reactions to the 1993 Midwest floods. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *28*, 495–518.

Grier, W. H., & Cobb, P. M. (1969). *Black rage*. New York. Basic Books.

Hagedoorn, M., Buunk, B. P., Kuijer, R. G., Wobbes, T., & Sanderman, R. (2000). Couples dealing with cancer: Role and gender differences regarding psychological distress and quality of life. *Psychology Oncology*, *9*, 232–242.

Haight, W. L. (1998). "Gathering the spirit" at First Baptist Church: Spirituality as a protective factor in the lives of African American children. *Social Work*, *43*, 219–238.

Herring, C. (2006). Hurricane Katrina and the racial gulf. A DuBoisian analysis of victims' experience. *Du Bois Review*, *3*, 129–144.

Hill, H. M., Hawkins, S. R., Raposa, M., & Carr, P. (1995). Relationship between multiple exposures to violence and coping strategies among African American mothers. *Violence Victims*, *10*, 55–71.

Hine, D. C. (1990). Female slave resistance: The economics of sex. In D. C. Hine (ed.), *Black Women in American History*. Vol 2. (657–666). Brooklyn: Carlson.

Kanisty, K., & Norris, F. H. (1995). Mobilization and deterioration of social support following natural disasters. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *4*, 94–98.

Koffman, J., Morgan, M., Edmonds, P. Speck, P., and Higginson, I. J. (2008). I known he controls cancer: The meaning of religion among Black Caribbean and White British patients with advanced cancer. *Social Science and Medicine*, *67*, 780–789.

Krause, N. (2002). Exploring race differences in a comprehensive battery of church base social support measures. *Review of Religious Research*, *44*, 126–144.

Krause, N., & Ellison, C. G. (2003). Forgiveness by God, forgiveness of others, and psychological well-being in late life. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *42*, 77–93.

Jacobs, G. (1995). The development of a national plan for disaster mental health. *Professional Psychology*, *26*, 543–549.

James, A. S., Hudson, M. A., & Campbell, M. K. (2003). Demographic and psychosocial corrections of physical activity among African Americans. *American Journal of Health Behavior, 27*, 421–431.

Jennings, W. J. (1997). Wrestling with a wounding word: Reading the disjointed lines of African American spirituality. *Modern Theology*, *13*, 140–170.

Kaslow, F. W. (1993). *The military family in peace and war*. New York: Springer.

Klonoff, E., & Landrine, H. (1997). Belief in the healing power of prayer. Prevalence and health correlates for African Americans. *Western Journal of Black Studies*, *20*, 207–219.

Koenig, H. G., McCullough, M. E., & Larson, D. B. (2001). *Handbook of religion and health*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lawson, E. J. (1998). A narrative analysis: A Black woman's perceptions of breast cancer risks and early breast cancer detection. *Cancer Nursing*, *6*, 421–429.

Lawson, E. J., & Thompson, A. (1999). *Black men and divorce*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Louisiana Department of Health and Hospitals. (2006). Report of missing and deceased. Baton Rouge. DHH, 2006. Retrieved http://www.dhh.louisiana.gov/offices/pages.asp?ID=192&Detail=5248.

Mancini, A., & Bonanno, G. (2006). Resilience in the face of potential trauma: Clinical practices and illustrations. *Journal of Clinical Psychology: In Session, 62*, 971–985.

Mann, E. (2006). *Katrina's Legacy: White racism and Black reconstruction in New Orleans and the Gulf Coast*. Los Angeles: Frontline Press.

Masten, A. S. (2001). Ordinary magic: Resilience processes in development. *American Psychologist, 56*, 227–238.

Mattis, J. (2004). Spirituality and religion in African American life. In R. L. Jones (Eds.), *Black psychology*, 4th ed. (pp. 93–115). Hampton, VA: Cobb & Henry Publishers.

Mattis, J. S. (2000). African American women definitions of spirituality and religiosity. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *26*, 101–122.

McAdoo, H. P. (Ed). (2007). *Black families*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

McCubbin, H. I., Thompson, E. A., Thompson, A. I., & Futrell, J. A. (Eds). (1998). *Resiliency in African American families*. Resiliency in Families Series. Thousand Oaks, Sage.

Murphy, E., Dingwall, R., Greatbach, D. et al. Qualitative research methods in health assessment: A review of the literature. *Health Technology Assessment, 2*, 1– 274.

Nye, W. P. (1992). Amazing grace: Religion and identity among elderly black individuals. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 93*, 103–114.

Oman, D., Thoresen, C. E., & McMahon, K. (1999). Volunteerism and mortality among the community-dwelling elderly. *American Journal of Public Health, 4*, 301–316.

Ortega, A. N., Rosenheck, R., Alegria, M., & Desai, R. A. (2000). Acculturation and lifetime risk of psychiatric and substance use disorders among Hispanics. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, *188*, 728–735.

Post, S. G. (2005). Altruism, happiness, and health. It's good to be good. *International Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, *12*, 66–77.

Rivera, J. D., & Miller, D. S. (2007). Continually neglected. Situating natural disasters in the African American experience. *Journal of Black Studies*, *37*, 502–522.

Rohrbaugh, M. J., Cranford, J. A., Shoham, V., Nicklas, J. M., Sonnega, J. S., & Coyne, J. C. (2002). Beyond the "self" in self-efficacy: Spouse confidence predicts patient survival following heart failure. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *18*, 184–195.

Roig-Franzia, M., & Husa, S. (2005). Many evacuated, but thousands still waiting: White House shifts blame to state and local officials. *Washington Post*, September 4, A1.

Schwartz, C., Meisenhelder, J. B., Ma, Y., & Reed, G. (2003). Altruistic social interest behaviors are associated with better mental health. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, *65*, 778–785.

Scott, E., & Shah, B. (1993). Future projects: Future theorizing in feminist field research methods: Commentary on panel discussion. *Frontiers*, *13*, 90–103.

Smith, T. H. (1994). *Conjuring culture biblical formations of Black America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Steffen, P. R., Hinderliter, A. L., Blumenthal, J. A., & Sherwood, A. (2001). Religious coping, ethnicity, and ambulatory blood pressure. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, *63*, 523–530.

Sundet, P., & Mermelstein (1996). Predictors of rural community survival after a natural disaster: Implications for Social Work Practice. In C. L. Streeter & S. A. Murty (eds.), *Research on social work and disasters* (pp. 57–70). Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press.

Taylor, R. J., & Chatters, L. M. (1991). Nonorganizational religious participation among elderly black adults. *Journal of Gerontology*, *46*, 103–111.

Thompson, M. (2005, September 19). System failure: Four places where the system broke down: The director. *Time*, *166*, 39–40.

Tunistra, J., Hagedoom, M., Sonderen, E. V., VandenBos, G. A., Nijboer, C., & Sanderman, R. (2004). Psychological distress in couples dealing with colorectal cancer: Gender and role differences and intracouple couple correspondence. *British Journal of Health Psychology, 9*, 465–478.

U.S. Census Bureau, 2005 Sept 2. Available at http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www.releases archives archives hurricans tropical_stprs/005673.html.

U.S. House of Representatives. (2006). A failure of initiative: *Final report of the Select Bipartisan Committee to investigate the preparation for and response to Hurricane Katrina*. Washington, D.C.: Available at http://katrina.house.gov. full_katrina_report.htm.

Utsey, S.O., Bolden, M. A. et al. (2007). Examining the role of culture-specific coping as a predictor of resilient outcomes in African Americans from high-risk urban communities. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *33*, 75–93.

Vigil, J. M., & Geary, D. C. (2008). A preliminary investigation of family coping styles and psychological well-being among adolescent survivors of Hurricane Katrina. *Journal of Family Psycho*logy, *22*, 176–180.

White, D. G. (1985). *Ar'nt I a Woman?* New York: Norton.

Whitt, S., & Wilson, R. K. (2007). Public goods in the fields: Katrina evacuees in Houston. *Southern Economic Journal*, *74*, 377–387.

Wilkinson, D. (1977). The stigmatization process: The politicization of Black Male's Identity. In D. Wilkinson & R. Taylor (Eds.), *The Black Male in America* (pp. 145–158). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Williams, D. R., and Williams-Morris, R. (2000). Racism and mental health: The African American experience. *Ethnicity and Health*, *5*, 243–268.

Wilmore, G. S. (2004). *Pragmatic spirituality: The Christian faith through an African centric lens*. New York: New York University Press.

Wright, N. (1967). *Black power and urban unrest*. New York: Hawthorn Press.

Book Review Volume 34 #4

T. Thomas Fortune, the Afro-American Agitator: A Collection of Writings, 1880–1928

Author: Timothy Thomas Fortune

University Press of Florida, 2010

Price: $65.00

ISBN: 978-0-8130-3232-0

Reviewer: Jack Carson, Jr.
University of Wisconsin, Madison

In *T. Thomas Fortune, the Afro-American Agitator*, Shawn Leigh Alexander has brought together thirty-five works written by Timothy Thomas Fortune. This is the first time that one volume has been put together such that its primary purpose is to call attention to Fortune's writings, and, through them, to Fortune's thinking. Fortune (1856–1928) was an important black American social and political thinker belonging to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; he was also a political activist and, by profession, a newspaper person. For some, he was the most important black American social and political thinker between the time of Frederick Douglass and that of Booker T. Washington.

As a political activist, Fortune was one of the founders of, and served as one of the chief executive officers of, two organizations which were forerunners to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: in 1890 the Afro-American League, which was the first national civil rights organization in the United States, and in 1898 the Afro-American Council. Through them as well as through writings associated with them, Fortune advocated against racial discrimination, racial segregation, and racial violence aimed at black Americans.

As a newspaper person, Fortune was the editor successively of four black American newspapers: in the nineteenth century, *The New York Globe*, *The New York Freeman*, as well as *The New York Age*, and, in the twentieth century, the official organ of Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association, *The Negro World*. In editorials and opinion pieces published in the newspapers he edited as well as in other periodicals, Fortune advocated for equal opportunity, equal access to public places, and equal protection under the law.

All but three of the writings included in this volume come from periodicals: newspapers as well as popular and professional magazines. They are editorials and opinions pieces.

The writings coming from periodicals are distributed across the literature in this manner. Seven of them come from *The New York Globe*. Six of them come from *The A.M.E. Church Review*; four, from *The Negro World*; three, from each of *The New York Age* and *The New York Freeman*; two, from each of *The Voice of the Negro* and *The Independent* magazine; and, one, from each of *The Colored American* magazine, *Arena* magazine, *The New York Sun*, *The Monthly Review*, and *The Southern Workman*.

The other three writings included in this volume are Fortune's 1886 work called *The Negro in Politics* and two articles which were published initially in anthologies: one in the anthology edited by J. W. E. Bowen called *Africa and the American Negro* (1895); the other in the anthology edited by Booker T. Washington called *The Negro Problem* (1903). In *The Negro in Politics*, Fortune is concerned critically with, among other things, political parties, political practices, and people who support political parties and/or practices. In virtue of some of his critical comments there, in some sense, Fortune was to Frederick Douglass as W. E. B. DuBois was to Booker T. Washington. In *Africa and the American Negro*, Fortune's article is concerned with the colonization of black Africa by white European political powers, and, in *The Negro Problem*, his article is concerned with the status at the beginning of the twentieth century of black Americans economically, socially, and so on, as well as politically.

Otherwise, in 1884, Fortune published *Black and White: Land, Labor, and Politics in the South*. In it, he sets out some things in terms of black people; others, in terms of white people. However, it is not true that he always sets out things in terms of black people in opposition to white people, or, conversely, in terms of white

in opposition to black. He sometimes sets out things in terms of economic factors such as labor, capital, and so on, as well as workers and the owners and controllers of the means of production. For some, *Black and White* is Fortune's most important social and political publication, but none of it is included in this volume.

The writings included in this volume have been divided according to themes into four separate parts: "Politics, Economics, and Education," "Civil Rights and Race Leadership," "Race and the Color Line," and "Africa, Emigration, and Colonization." In all but the third division, writings within the four separate parts have been arranged in order of time. In each division, for each writing, there is a theme such that the writing falls under it, but it is not true that, in each division, there is a theme such that each writing falls under it.

In this volume, twenty-two out of the thirty-five writings have been put into parts one and two. They pertain to, among other things, citizenship, civil rights, and civil liberties as well as the problems of whether or not black Americans should be disallowed to vote, whether or not black Americans should always vote for the Republican Party when they were allowed to vote, and whether or not black Americans should emigrate in large numbers from the United States to some or another place without it such as Africa, Canada, or Central or South America. Thematically, then, the biggest number of the writings fall under the headings bearing upon the most significant post-reconstruction, pre-twentieth century social and political problems affecting black Americans.

In this volume, twenty-three out of the thirty-five writings come from the period of time 1880–1900. In 1916 in an article called "The Quick and the Dead," Fortune maintained of himself that, insofar as concerns the leadership of, and/or special service to, black Americans, his actions and his attitudes were the most significant during the period of time, approx., from 1880 to 1900. Chronologically, then, the biggest number of the writings come from precisely the time when Fortune thought that his actions and attitudes were the most significant socially and politically for black Americans.

The writings included in this volume reintroduce us to some features of Fortune's thinking which have been focussed upon—say, by Emma Lou Thornbrough in *T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist* (1972) and/or by August Meier in *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (1963). For example, during the period of time 1880–1900, he supported industrial education more than he did higher education of an academic nature. Furthermore, he always opposed external emigration.

The writings included in this volume also introduce us to some features of Fortune's thinking such that they have not been focussed upon at all or they have been focussed upon only infrequently. For example, besides being concerned with higher education, Fortune was also concerned with education for black Americans in high schools and in the lower grades. Here, Fortune opposed the so-called separate-but-equal doctrine as it applied to schools. This was a recurrent theme in his thinking: prior to 1900, in 1886, 1890, and 1894, as well as later in 1904 and 1916, he refers to, and/or sets out opposition to, the so-called separate-but-equal doctrine as it applied to schools. (*Agitator*, resp., 130, 144, and 226; as well as 110 and 194.)

Shawn Leigh Alexander took a Ph.D. degree in 2004 in Afro-American Studies from the University of Massachusetts—Amherst, where he wrote a dissertation about Fortune, his writings, and his thinking. So, in some sense, he is an authority concerning Fortune, his writings, and his thinking. When the collection coming under review was published in 2008, Alexander was a professor in Lawrence, Kansas, at the University of Kansas, Department of African and African American Studies. With respect to his contributions to this volume, Alexander has provided an excellent introduction. In it, he gives a good biographical account of Fortune, his life, and his times. In it, he sets out as well an interesting account of some features of Fortune's thinking which I neither discuss nor mention in this review. He has also provided numerous notes and two bibliographies. The notes inform the uninformed concerning, among other things, who's who during Fortune's time, one of the bibliographies lists thirty-five of Fortune's writings which are not included in this volume, and the other one lists some suggested readings for those who have interests in the black American social and political thought.

Still, when he comments upon the content of Fortune's thinking, sometimes Alexander fails to assert precisely what's what, where, in stating that, I mean the following two things. Sometimes, he commits errors of reporting: he fails to assert truthfully what Fortune maintains. Sometimes, he commits errors of reasoning: he fails to assert truthfully what follows from what logically. For each of the four separate parts of this volume, there are one or more errors he commits in the part when commenting upon Fortune's thinking.

Lastly, therefore, the writings included in this volume will be essential reading for all historians of ideas, for all intellectual historians, for all students, and for all teachers who are interested in the history and the development of the black American social

and political thought. The anthology allows Timothy Thomas Fortune himself to give voice to his thinking concerning some of the most significant social and political phenomena for the period of time, approx., from 1880 to 1930, and especially for the two decades from 1880 to 1900. It also provides a basis with respect to which we can come to see similarities and/or dissimilarities between his thinking and that of, say, Alexander Crummell, Frederick Douglass, and Booker T. Washington, or again Anna Julia Cooper, Frances E. W. Harper, and Ida B. Wells-Barnett.

The Cultural Politics of Slam Poetry: Race, Identity, and the Performance of Popular Verse in America

Author: Susan B. A. Somers-Willett

University of Michigan Press, 2009

Price: $22.95

ISBN: 978-0-472-05059-8

Reviewer: Matthew Oware, DePauw University

Susan Somers-Willett writes a compelling and intriguing examination of Slam Poetry. She chronicles its beginnings, originating in a white working-class neighborhood in 1980s Chicago, to the genres current deployment in movies from Hollywood and the Broadway stage in New York. Through her examination of the genre, Somers-Willett manages to take the reader through the fairly complicated and nuanced life of a Slam Poet and Slam poetry. In addition, she masterfully dissects how this genre informs our understanding of racial and ethnic identity politics in America.

Slam Poetry is competitive performance poetry. Poets are expected to perform short three to five minute poems with audience members ultimately determining the winner by scoring factors such as quality of performance, content, and originality. Furthermore it is interactive, with poets expecting, sometimes demanding, active audience participation. Crowd participation was deliberately instituted because the genre was seen as a counter to traditional poetry sets where poems were read to audiences with little, if any, audience involvement. At traditional poetry readings crowd members are considered neophytes who listen to the master. This role is reversed in slam poetry—the audience determines "good" material.

Somers-Willett explores how, although started by a working-class white male, the genre became primarily associated with marginalized individuals, specifically, people of color and women, and how identity and political views became the primary rhetorical frameworks that poets employed; for example, emphasizing sexuality or racial/ethnic identity. At points throughout the book Somers-Willett seems to affirm the emphasis being on these sorts of identities; yet, there are other times where she seems skeptical of identity being the primary and most prominent aspect of Slam poetry. Indeed, as the genre evolved, the author expresses concern over commercial forces pushing identity politics to the forefront; for example, hip hop mogul Russell Simmons' Def Poetry Jam routinely features artists who discuss the importance of their marginalized statuses.

Yet, it is clear from Somers-Willett analyses that audience members themselves also reward poets who highlight their oppressed and marginalized statuses. In this interactive genre, a give-and-take exists between the mostly white, liberal viewers or audience members and minority, often black, poets. Somers-Willet speculates that whites who reward or select minority winners who emphasize their identities or political views, are being allowed to assuage their own white guilt, even as poets highlight the oppressiveness of whiteness or heterosexism. What results as a by-product of the inter-play between audience and poet is the validation of a performed authentic self, a self that in some cases reaffirms and concretizes the belief that distinct differences exist between, for instance, blacks and whites or heterosexuals and homosexuals. Therein lies the strength and weakness of Slam poetry and Slam poets. A venue has been created that provides a voice or view that is not normally heard or espoused in traditional poetry, however, these voices, unfairly or not, become the supposed views of entire communities; thus, "blackness", "gayness", "liberalness" become narrowly defined and promoted by all parties involved. Presumably, all in an attempt to "keep it real."

Somers-Willett produces a well-written, thought-provoking, and an all around good book. It is particularly useful in popular cultural courses, or courses

pertaining to African-American culture (she writes a chapter that explores the precursors of Slam, including Black Arts, minstrelsy, and Beatnik culture). Although the book focuses directly on Slam Poetry, Somers-Willett does an excellent job of delving into the overlap between this genre and rap music, pointing to the role that commercial entities played in linking the two to create a greater fan base for Slam. Indeed, these sets of analyses, by and far, are the strength of the book.

THE WESTERN JOURNAL OF BLACK STUDIES

Since 1977, *The Western Journal of Black Studies* (WJBS) has been a leading interdisciplinary journal that is devoted to publishing scholarly articles, from a wide range of disciplines, that focus mainly on the experience of African Americans in the United States of America. The journal publishes articles that, as its name implies, report original investigations and contribute new knowledge and understanding to the field of Black/African American studies. Theoretical articles and works concerning the African Diaspora are welcome if whenever possible they include data research and implications for applicability. *All manuscripts are selected by blind peer review.*

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Please observe the following guidelines when submitting articles to WJBS:

•Format of the manuscript must adhere to the convention of style described in the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (5th ed.). Please use the checklist on pages 341 to 344 of the manual before you submit your manuscript. Please use references, not footnotes.

•Include a separate title page that lists all authors, departmental affiliations and a mailing address for correspondence. Because of the blind review process, the only place the author's name may appear is on a separate title page.

•Manuscripts should be approximately 5 to 30 pages (including references) and must contain an abstract of approximately 120 words.

•Submit three copies (original and two copies).

•Print manuscripts with a laser or a high quality inkjet printer on letter-quality white bond paper.

•Double space all lines including block quotations, notes and figure captions and leave at least a 1-inch top/bottom, left/right margin.

•Submit a cover letter that requests review of the manuscript. This cover letter should adhere to the guidelines found in the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (5th ed.). In addition, include a statement that the manuscript is not under consideration elsewhere nor has it been published in whole or in part in another journal.

•It is the author's responsibility to secure permission to reproduce quoted text, tables or figures from a copyrighted source. If it is required, you must obtain written permission and enclose a copy with your manuscript submission.

•Final version of the accepted manuscript must be accompanied by a Copyright Transfer Agreement signed by all authors.

•Authors of accepted manuscripts will receive notification of acceptance and instructions for publication (e.g., revisions needed before publication, camera ready figures, diskette version of manuscript, etc.).

•Manuscripts that do not follow these guidelines will be returned to the author for correction prior to review.

Correspondence concerning manuscripts, subscriptions, reprints and editorial policies should be addressed to:

E. Lincoln James, Managing Editor
The Western Journal of Black Studies
Washington State University
70C Cleveland Hall
Pullman, Washington 99164-2103
509-335-8681
509-335-6959 (Fax)
wjbs@wsunix.wsu.edu
http://www.wsu.edu/~wjbs

SUBSCRIPTIONS

For subscription rates visit http://www.wsu.edu/~wjbs or call 509-335-8681.

ADVERTISING

Advertisements (including events, job announcements, publication announcements and press releases) for the WJBS are accepted for our journal and internet site. If you are interested please call for rates and details.

Articles appearing in *The Western Journal of Black Studies* are abstracted, listed or indexed in the *Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE), Standard Periodical Directory* (SPD), *American Humanities Index* and the *Information Access Company (IAC).*

The Western Journal of Black Studies
70C Cleveland Hall
Washington State University
Pullman, Washington 99164-2103 USA

Nonprofit Organization
U.S. Postage
PAID
Pullman, WA
Permit No. 1

671 M1 P 8539
06/08/11 46620 NC
Group